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THE BULL "MUNIFICENTISSIMUS DEUS"

A SUMMARY WITH SOME NOTES

AFTER a short introduction the Bull assesses the position which the doctrine of the Assumption now holds in the belief of Catholics. Our age has been marked by a great increase in devotion to Our Lady and by a correspondingly closer study of her privileges (2).¹ The Church has always perceived the harmony and mutual consistency of the endowments that God has bestowed upon His Mother, and throughout the centuries this has been the subject of her meditation: but in these days the Assumption has assumed special prominence (3). Chief among the factors in this development has been the definition of the Immaculate Conception, a prerogative with which that of the Assumption is closely connected. By His death the Redeemer overcame sin and death, and the baptized through Him have overcome them also. But whereas for the just in general the complete victory over death is reserved until the general resurrection at the last day, Our Lady was exempted from this law. By her privilege of the Immaculate Conception she enjoys immunity from the law whereby her body would remain in the corruption of the grave; she had not to wait until the last day for the redemption of her body (4-5). Pope Pius IX's definition thus gave rise to the hope that there might be an early definition of the doctrine of the Assumption (6), and so began that long series of petitions to the Holy See which, reaching the number of many thousands at the beginning of the present Pontificate, culminated in the practically unanimous assent of the Catholic episcopate to the Pope's express inquiry, "whether they considered that the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin could be set forth and defined as a dogma of faith, and whether their clergy and people desired it" (6-11). The conclusion drawn by the Pope from this result deserves to be quoted in full:

¹ Numerals in parenthesis refer to paragraphs of the Bull, below, pp. 407-20.

This remarkable unanimity of Catholic episcopate and faithful, in holding the bodily Assumption of the Mother of God to be definable as a dogma of faith, shows us what is the agreed doctrine of the Church's ordinary teaching authority and what is the agreed belief of the Christian people, which that authority upholds and directs. Of itself, therefore, it quite certainly and infallibly proves that this privilege is a truth revealed by God and contained in the divine deposit of faith which Christ committed to His Spouse that she might guard it faithfully and infallibly expound it. It is not by merely human effort but by the assistance of the Spirit of truth, and therefore infallibly, that the Church discharges her function of preserving revealed truths pure and undefiled through the ages; she consequently transmits them without adulteration, without addition, without diminution. "The Holy Ghost was promised to Peter's successors," says the Vatican Council, "not in order that they might make known any new doctrine revealed by Him, but in order that, with His assistance, they might scrupulously preserve and faithfully expound the revelation delivered by the Apostles, that is to say, the deposit of faith." Therefore the universal agreement of the Church's ordinary teaching authority affords certain and sure proof that the bodily Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary into heaven—which, so far as the glorification of her virginal body is concerned, cannot be known by the natural powers of any human mind—is a truth revealed by God, which all the children of the Church are bound to believe firmly and sincerely. As the Vatican Council asserts: "By divine and catholic faith everything is to be believed which is contained in Scripture or Tradition, and is set forth by the Church for belief as divinely revealed, whether by solemn proclamation or by her ordinary and universal teaching authority" (12).

The second part of the Bull deals with the history and development of the doctrine (13). Its ultimate foundation is in the Scriptures which, interpreted by the pastors of the Church, present Our Lady as truly the Mother of Sorrows throughout her life and especially at the foot of the Cross. Accordingly "the faithful had no difficulty in believing that the Mother of God died, as her only-begotten Son also had died". But this did not prevent them from believing also that her body, the tabernacle of the Word of God, was never reduced to dust. Indeed, guided by grace and by their love for one who is both God's Mother

and ours, they came gradually to appreciate more and more the harmonious blending of her God-given privileges (14). Indications of the doctrine are to be found also in pictures representing the mystery, in churches, dioceses, countries, religious congregations dedicated to Mary under this title, as well as in the fourth Glorious Mystery of the Rosary (15). The feast of the Assumption, observed from early times in both East and West, is of great importance as indicating the belief of the faithful in the privilege it celebrates. The liturgical texts of the feast show the Church's belief that at the end of her life on earth the body of Our Lady was treated by God in a manner consistent with the dignity of her divine motherhood. This appears both in the Roman rite and in the Gallican and Byzantine liturgies (16-18). The doctrine of the Assumption was brought into greater prominence by the action of the Holy See in increasing the solemnity of the feast. Indeed the Vigil of the Assumption is mentioned by Pope Nicholas I (858-61) as being among the earliest fasts observed by the Church (19). The doctrine was further elucidated in the homilies of such great preachers as John of Damascus (21), Germanus of Constantinople and (the reputed) Modestus of Jerusalem (22). These discourses show the belief of the faithful, not as arising out of the feast, but as presupposed by it; and they present the privilege as consisting, not only in the preservation of Our Lady's lifeless body from the corruption of the tomb, but also in a complete victory over death by its heavenly glorification. They also contain valuable considerations on the relation between the Assumption and the other privileges of Our Lady, notably her divine Motherhood and her perpetual virginity (20). With the spread of the feast we find more numerous and more detailed expositions of the doctrine, which stress particularly its consistency with the other prerogatives of the Mother of God (23).

It is this consideration that appeals especially to the scholastic theologians, to whose teaching the next part of the Bull is devoted. Mary's divine motherhood, her surpassing holiness, her intimate association with her divine Son, and, above all, the dutiful love of the divine Redeemer for His Mother—these are the fundamental doctrines in which they find a compelling argument for her glorious privilege (24-5). Moreover, they fol-

low the example of the Fathers in making free use of Scriptural passages and events to illustrate their belief. Verses from the Psalms and the Canticle of Canticles are adapted to their pious purpose, and the incorruptible wood of the Ark of the Covenant is seen frequently as a type of Our Lady's virginal body. They find her signified by the Woman of the Apocalypse, while her fullness of grace and her blessedness (Luke i, 23) receive an added meaning in the light of her glorious Assumption (26-7). If on certain matters theological schools are apt to disagree, the variety of authors quoted—Amedeus of Lausanne (28), St Antony of Padua (29), St Albert the Great (30), St Thomas Aquinas (31), St Bonaventure (32), St Bernardine of Siena (33), St Robert Bellarmine (34), St Francis of Sales and St Alphonsus (35)—suffices alone to show that on the doctrine of Assumption, at least, they are unanimous. Other theologians, finally, have considered the doctrine especially in its relation to the teaching authority of the Church. Among these, St Peter Canisius held that it could not be denied without temerity, if indeed *salva fide* (36); while Suarez, who lays down the principle that the privileges of Our Lady are to be measured only by the divine omnipotence and wisdom, always saving the truth of the Scriptures, held the Assumption of Our Lady to be equally definable with her Immaculate Conception (37).

At this point the Holy Father, hitherto content to record the teaching and arguments of the Fathers and theologians, proceeds to summarize the position himself. All the above arguments and considerations, he says, are based ultimately on the Scriptures, where Mary is shown as closely associated with her divine Son and sharing His lot. The intimacy of this connexion forbids us to suppose that only her soul, and not also her body, is united with the Redeemer in heavenly glory. The Redeemer's obedience to the fourth commandment, viewed in the light of the Suarezian principle (see above, 37), also leads us to believe that he will not have denied His Mother this glory (38). Moreover, the privilege is closely connected with the doctrine, already professed explicitly as early as the second century, that Our Lady is the second Eve. Subordinate, indeed, to the second Adam, she is none the less associated with Him in His triumph over sin and death (Gen. iii, 15). In the teaching of St Paul sin

and death are always combined as the enemy that Christ has overcome; and therefore, "just as Christ's glorious resurrection was an essential part and indeed the final trophy of His victory, so the conflict which the Blessed Virgin waged together with Him must also conclude with the glorification of her virginal body; so that, in the words of the same Apostle (I Cor. xv, 54), 'then, when . . . this mortal nature wears its immortality, the saying of Scripture will come true, Death is swallowed up in victory'" (39). "Therefore the august Mother of God, mysteriously united with Jesus Christ from all eternity in one and the same decree of predestination, immaculate in her conception, virgin inviolate in her divine motherhood, whole-hearted associate of the divine Redeemer in His complete victory over sin and its effects, attained the culmination of her privileges when she was preserved immune from the corruption of the tomb and, conquering death as her Son had already conquered it, was raised up body and soul to the glory of heaven, resplendent Queen at the right hand of her Son, the immortal king of ages" (40).

The Holy Father then enumerates the reasons that justify the definition of the Assumption as a dogma of faith: the Church, infallibly guided by the Spirit of truth, has manifested her belief in many ways throughout the centuries; the bishops, with moral unanimity, have asked for the definition; the Assumption is a truth, (a) having foundation in the Scriptures, (b) embedded in the minds of the faithful, (c) proved by the early liturgies, (d) consistent with other revealed truths, (e) elucidated by the thought of theologians (41). He then enumerates the advantages that may result from the definition: glory to the Blessed Trinity, with whom Our Lady is so closely associated; greater devotion to the Mother of God; a greater desire for union with the Mystical Body, of which Mary is the loving Mother; imitation of the virtues of Our Lady, especially her submission to the divine will; the answer to materialism, namely, a reminder of the splendid destiny of soul and body; a firmer faith in our own resurrection (42). After referring to the happy coincidence of this solemn event with the Holy Year (43), the Pope proceeds to the definition itself, of which the essential words are: "We define that it is a dogma revealed by God that

the immaculate Mother of God, Mary ever a virgin, when the course of her earthly life was run, was taken up body and soul to the glory of heaven" (44).

A preliminary, and in the circumstances necessarily hasty, examination of the Bull reveals little to surprise those who have followed the theological discussions of recent years concerning the definability of the Assumption. The following points are noteworthy.

1. Paragraph 12 of the Bull vindicates the view, held by a number of theologians since 1947, that the morally unanimous assent of the bishops and faithful to the Pope's express inquiry in May 1946¹ put beyond question the fact that the Assumption is a truth revealed by God, especially when it is considered that the glorification of Our Lady's body is a fact that transcends natural experience and can be known to us with certainty only through divine revelation.

2. In this connexion it is interesting to notice the method used by the Pope in his study of the doctrine. He does not begin by considering it in the early faith of the Church; his starting point is rather the faith of our own times, particularly as manifested during the past hundred years, since the definition of the Immaculate Conception. We should not be far wrong, perhaps, if we saw here an object-lesson in theological method which the Pope wants to inculcate. The Living Voice of the Church teaches God's truth in all ages, and is still teaching it today, and to this Living Voice all the faithful, theologians or otherwise, must listen if they would learn it. Consequently it is not in the beliefs of the early centuries, often implicit or only half-formulated, that we must seek enlightenment as to what the Church teaches today; rather the contrary: the teaching of the Church today shows us what is, and always has been, contained in the deposit of faith. "True," the Pope had already written in *Humani generis*,² "a theologian must constantly be having recourse to the fountains of divine revelation. It is for him to show

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1949, XXXI, pp. 113 ff.

² THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1950, XXXIV, pp. 333-34.

how and where the teaching given by the Living Voice of the Church is contained in Scripture and in sacred Tradition, 'be it explicitly, or implicitly, to be found there' . . . This is true, but for that very reason theology, even what is called positive theology, must not be put on a level with the merely historical sciences. Side by side with these hallowed sources God has given His Church a Living Voice; thus he would make clear to us, unravel for us, even what was left obscure in the deposit of faith, and only present there implicitly. The task of interpreting the deposit aright was not entrusted by our Divine Redeemer to the individual Christian, nor even to the individual theologian; it was the Church's teaching that must be decisive. And when the Church exercises this privilege, as she often has in past ages, whether it be exercised in the way of routine or upon some special occasion, it is plainly wrong to treat her decisions as certain modern theologians do. They actually use what is obscure to explain what is lucidly clear; as if the opposite procedure did not plainly impose itself on all minds!"

3. As to the manner in which the doctrine of the Assumption has emerged from the stage of implicit to that of explicit belief, the Bull is abundantly instructive. Repeatedly¹ the Holy Father speaks of the marvellous harmony and consistency of Our Lady's privileges with one another and with the whole body of revealed truth; and he presents the development of this doctrine as a process by which the children of the Church, under the guidance of the Living Voice, have penetrated more and more deeply into the significance of Mary's singular graces and privileges, with the result that the doctrine of the Assumption has come to be more and more clearly appreciated and understood.

4. In considering the exact meaning of the definition it is necessary to bear in mind the rule of canon 1323, §3: "Declarata seu definita dogmaticae res nulla intelligitur, nisi id manifeste constiterit." In the light of this rule, and *salvo meliore iudicio*, it would seem that the fact of our Lady's death is not included in the dogma of faith as defined. The phrase "expleto terrestris vitae cursu" does not *manifestly* mean that Our Lady's earthly life was terminated by death. Nevertheless it is doubtful whether

¹ See pars. 2, 3, 4, 14, 18 ff., 24 ff.

the opinion of a number of recent theologians, according to whom Our Lady did not die but was taken up living into heavenly glory, is likely long to survive a study of the Dogmatic Bull. If it is true that the definition itself was, perhaps purposely, so worded as not to declare that the death of Our Lady is a dogma of faith, yet it would be difficult for anyone who has read the Bull in its entirety to understand the Assumption as anything else than an anticipated resurrection from death. Referring to the faithful of the early centuries the Holy Father says that, familiar as they were with the scriptural picture of Our Lady's life of sorrow and suffering, they "had no difficulty in believing that the Mother of God died (*"ex hac vita decessisse"*) as her only-begotten Son also had died"¹. Two at least of the liturgical texts quoted by the Pope appear to suppose the death of Our Lady,² and in summarizing the teaching of the homilists he uses the significant words: "they explained . . . that what was celebrated by the feast was not merely the incorruption of her lifeless body but also its triumph over death and its heavenly glorification after the model of her only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ";³ and in fact the texts quoted from John of Damascus and (the reputed) Modestus of Jerusalem both mention explicitly the death of Our Lady and her resurrection from the tomb. The same, finally, seems to be implied in the Pope's own summary of the traditional teaching. A careful reading of the paragraphs⁴ in which he draws out the parallel between Christ's victory over death by His glorious resurrection and the victory which His blessed Mother, with Him and by His gracious privilege, was allowed to achieve, suggests almost irresistibly that she conquered death as He had done (*"quemadmodum iam Filius suus"*) by an anticipated resurrection.

G. D. SMITH

¹Par. 14.

²Par. 17, 18.

³Par. 20.

⁴39 and 40.

NEWMAN AND OUR LADY¹

ONE of the most attractive of the Meditations in Newman's *Meditations and Devotions* is that on the invocation of the litany, *Mater Amabilis*. Newman argues that Mary is lovable principally because she is without sin. Sin is odious by nature, and grace attractive. Yet it occasionally happens that holy persons we know are not attractive even to good people. Newman agrees, but claims that it would be otherwise if "holy" persons were entirely without sin. Whatever want of attractiveness there exists in holy men is due to the remains of sin in them, and to the fact that their grace is not sufficient to overcome the defects of their nature. All this was otherwise with Mary. Then Newman goes on to speak of her personal beauty. "Of course her face was most beautiful; but we should not be able to recollect whether it was beautiful or not; we should not recollect any of her features, because it was her beautiful sinless soul, which looked through her eyes, and spoke through her mouth, and was heard in her voice, and compassed her all about; when she was still, or when she walked, whether she smiled, or was sad, her sinless soul, this it was which would draw all those to her who had any grace in them, any remains of grace, any love of holy things."²

All Mary's comeliness then would merely be to lead men to her Son and to the love of His divine holiness. "The Glories of Mary for the sake of her Son", is the title of a sermon preached shortly after Newman's conversion.³ Mary exists for the sake of her Son, she is glorified because of her Son, her glory increases in order to increase her Son's glory. But before his conversion Newman failed to grasp this fully. He still thought it was possible to steal glory from the Son by giving it to His Mother. This was not entirely consistent in him, for he had always insisted on the impossibility of mutilating Catholic doctrine, which he regarded as a unified whole, not as a series of separate

¹ This is substantially a lecture delivered at the Marian Congress in Rome on 25 October, 1950.

² Newman, *Meditations and Devotions*, London, 1893, p. 27.

³ Newman, *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, London, 1897, p. 342.

truths. He was later to see that devotion to Our Lady was an integral part of Catholic teaching.

However, as long as Newman remained an Anglican, he remained a faithful and obedient son of his Church, and adhered conscientiously to the twenty-second of the thirty-nine articles: "Doctrina Romanensium de purgatorio, de indulgentiis, de veneratione et adoratione, tum imaginum tum reliquiarum nec non de invocatione sanctorum, res est futilis, inaniter conficta, et nullis Scripturarum testimoniis innititur: immo verbo Dei contradicit."

Yet it is true to say that even during this Anglican period he felt very real devotion to our Blessed Lady. He was even accused of holding the Immaculate Conception when he used the following words in an early Anglican sermon: "Who can estimate the holiness and perfection of her, who was chosen to be the Mother of Christ? If to him that hath, more is given, and holiness and divine faith go together (and this we are expressly told), what must have been the transcending purity of her, whom the Creator Spirit condescended to overshadow with His miraculous presence? What must have been her gifts, who was chosen to be the only near earthly relative of the Son of God, the only one whom He was bound by nature to revere and look up to. . . . This contemplation runs to a higher subject, did we dare to follow it; for what, think you, was the sanctified state of human nature, of which God formed His sinless son . . ."¹ However, with all this grasp of the great dignity and gifts of God's Mother, Newman continued until very near his conversion opposed to the full Catholic doctrine of Our Lady on the ground that it was against Scripture, tradition and his Church. As little as three years before his conversion, he still gives as one of his reasons for not becoming a Catholic what he thought to be the excessive honours paid to Our Lady, inconsistent, as he thought, with the honour due to the infinite, eternal God. All the devotion he allowed in his Anglican writings was a deep reverence, together with consideration and imitation of her virtues. He taught with his Church, that the cult of statues lacked sufficient early tradition in its support, and that veneration and

¹ *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, ii, pp. 131-2, quoted in *Meditations and Devotions*, p. 127.

invocation of the saints was against the Scripture doctrine of Christ as the sole Mediator.

No sooner did he decide to become a Catholic than his whole attitude changed completely. This has sometimes been criticized adversely as showing insincerity; but it causes no difficulty to anyone who realizes how calmly and fervently Newman accepted the guidance of the Roman Catholic Church as speaking to him with God's authority. His change was made easier by the historical studies immediately preceding his conversion, which made him see how wrong and how untraditional it really was to separate Mother from Son.

Mary can rightly be called the morning star leading Newman to the haven of truth. He afterwards realized how much she had been guiding him during all the days leading him to Rome. He had been in Mary's College in Oxford; his parochial Church had been St Mary the Virgin. He speaks of the blessings which came to him from Our Lady at Littlemore. His first Oratory was called Maryvale, and the final one was dedicated to the Immaculate Conception. He took Mary's name for his Confirmation. Perhaps he was thinking of this when he wrote the words a few years later: "O harbinger of day! O hope of the pilgrim! lead us still as thou hast led; in the dark night, across the bleak wilderness, guide us on to our Lord Jesus, guide us home."¹

It was his renewed study of Church History, with the help of his new theory of the development of doctrine, which led Newman to realize that the primitive Church was also Marian in the same sense as the Roman Church of today, though of course in a less developed form. Newman's theory of the development of doctrine is well known. For Newman true development is rather from the whole to the whole, than from part to part. I mean by this that, when a new doctrine is defined, it is the same body of doctrine afterwards, merely rendered clearer as regards one of its parts or aspects. The Assumption, for instance, is an expression in a part or aspect of what the whole has been from the beginning.

Newman's studies led him to recognize that the whole was

¹ *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 359. Quoted from Friedel, F.J., S.M., *The Mariology of Newman*, New York, 1928, p. 101.

unchanged from the beginning, though from time to time certain aspects of it became clearer. The Catholic system had always been not merely Christian, but, because Christian, also Marian. And it was this system which was the religion of Cyprian, Athanasius, Basil, Ambrose and Augustine. It was not only the historical, but also the logical, successor of all the Christian centuries. True, it was a development, but a faithful one, not a corruption.

We should try for a few moments to look at the primitive Church through Newman's eyes. First, it had the same visible, external form as well as the same inner nature. Newman speaks about it having at all times the same identical type. Among the signs which mark the Church Newman mentions its frequently recurring opposition to States, its uncompromising attitude towards heretics, its resistance to pagan morals. Devotion and reverence towards Mary, Christ's Mother, and trust in her merits and intercession, form another of these characteristics, showing identity of type.

Newman came to the conclusion that the earliest theology of Our Lady among the Fathers was based upon the notion that she is the second Eve. It is of course related to her motherhood, but is especially connected with the moment of her consent in obedience and faith at the time of the Annunciation. This theology seemed to be spread throughout the Christian world in the second century, since we find it in the writings of St Justin at Rome, St Irenaeus in Gaul and Tertullian in Africa. Although there could have been mutual influence, Newman thought that the comparison between Eve and Mary could not have been put forward with such conviction in different parts of the Christian world, unless the tradition itself of Mary's peculiar position were fairly universal in the Christian world during the second century. Here Newman found a bond between the earliest theology concerning Our Lady and the most recent; for it is the doctrine of Mary as second Eve which is the main Scripture basis to the Immaculate Conception and the Assumption. The new Eve is in a much truer sense *Mother of all the Living*.

When Newman first heard of the coming definition of the Immaculate Conception, he rejoiced, as it seemed to him an

official recognition of the doctrine of Development. In a memorandum written many years later, he said: "It is so difficult for me to enter into the feelings of a person who *understands* the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and yet objects to it, that I am diffident about attempting to speak on the subject."¹ When, after the definition, Newman wrote an open letter to Pusey about Catholic devotion to Our Lady, he expressed an inability to understand why Pusey should object to the Immaculate Conception. "... have you any intention to deny that Mary was as fully endowed as Eve? Is it any violent inference, that she, who was to co-operate in the redemption of the world, at least was not less endowed with power from on high, than she who, given as a helpmate to her husband, did in the event but co-operate with him for its ruin? If Eve was raised above human nature by that indwelling moral gift which we call grace, is it rash to say that Mary had even a greater grace?"²

At a later period, the Marian theology of the Church centred more upon the still more fundamental doctrine that Mary was the *Theotokos*, the Mother of God. It is well known that this truth was acknowledged by Fathers at least from the time of Origen; and it was in consequence of this that development in the understanding of the Incarnation led to a continuous growth in the honour paid to Our Lady. On the other hand, where the understanding of the Incarnation grew fainter, the feeling for Our Lady's dignity was gradually lost.

In his renewed study of the Fathers prior to, and immediately following, his conversion, Newman came to realize that it is impossible to remain in a mere acceptance of Ephesus, as Anglicans tended to do. If Mary is not a worthy Mother, she is no Mother of God. To Newman's mind, Mary is more than a mother—much more—she is a worthy mother, and a worthy Mother of God. "A mother without a home in the Church, without dignity, without gifts, would have been, as far as the defence of the Incarnation goes, no mother at all. She would not have remained in the memory, or the imagination of men."³ Anglicans admit that Mary is the *Theotokos*, but in actual life

¹ Newman, *Meditations and Devotions*, p. 115.

² Newman, *Difficulties of Anglicans*, II, p. 45.

³ Newman, *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 350.

rarely *call* her Mother of God, just as they rarely *call* her Son "God". Still less do they speak of Mary's gifts and privileges. Since her Son's resurrection and ascension and the Mother's assumption into heaven, it is her office to preach Him. To preach Him, she must be raised up. In so far as she succeeds in drawing people to herself, she draws people to Christ. " 'Why should she have such prerogatives,' we ask, 'unless He be God? and what must He be by nature, when she is so high by grace?'" All exaltation of Mary is in the service of Christ. True, it does sometimes happen that people outside the Church retain their belief in Christ's divinity while neglecting to honour His Mother. But in the natural order of things neglect of the Mother leads to neglect of the Son.¹

A sound appreciation of Mary's dignity is a good antidote to most of the modern vagueness regarding the Incarnation. We hear Jesus spoken of as "divine" by people who would regard it as bad form to call Him God. Others call Him the "most divine" of men. One modern writer talks of the "concreting of God in the personality of Jesus", as though God before the Incarnation were an abstraction. The best test of soundness is to confess that God is the Son of Mary. "The world allows that God *is* man; the admission costs it little, for God is everywhere, and (as it may say) is everything; but it shrinks from confessing that God is the Son of Mary."²

Newman loved to point out how it was precisely those Churches which refused to honour Mary, in order to save the honour of the Son, that ended by ceasing to regard the Son as truly God; an error unknown among those who continued to honour the Mother.

Protestants have sometimes asked how it is that, if Marian devotion is so important for the defence of the Incarnation, it did not begin to grow notably until the fifth century. Newman's answer is that, though Marian devotion is valuable to preserve a true belief in the Son, it is not sufficient to prove or establish it. The first few centuries used up all the Church's energies in doing so. Once that was done, the Mother found her true position also; and all honour paid to her is paid for the sake of that Son, and hence redounds to His glory. As Newman

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid., pp. 346-7.

often said, Mary now began to occupy the position which Arians had given to Christ, when they regarded Him as the greatest of creatures.

Newman then was forced to the conclusion that the Catholic Church of today was proved identical with the Catholic Church of the early centuries, precisely through that Marian doctrine which at first had seemed to make her different. Through that doctrine, she is shown to be one in *type* through all the centuries, and that type, in one of its aspects, could be called Marian.

But the true Church is also marked by certain principles. Newman enumerates many of these. Suffice it for the moment for us to consider those of faith and theology, two principles which friend and enemy would agree to be typical of her. According to the principle of faith, "... belief in Christianity is in itself better than unbelief; ... faith, though an intellectual action, is ethical in its origin; ... it is safer to believe; ... we must begin with believing; ... as for the reasons of believing, they are for the most part implicit, and need be but slightly recognized by the mind that is under their influence; ..."¹ If this is the meaning of faith, it can easily be seen how naturally it leads to theology, which is reasoning on the basis of faith.

The principle of theology, closely allied to that of faith, cannot be better described in its relation to the latter than in the words in which Newman takes Our Lady as a type of theology in the best sense of the term. It is in the beginning of the last of the Oxford University Sermons, and Newman has taken as his text, "But Mary kept all these things, and pondered them in her heart" (Luke ii, 19). "Thus St Mary is our pattern of Faith, both in the reception and in the study of Divine Truth. She does not think it enough to accept, she dwells upon it; not enough to possess, she uses it; not enough to assent, she develops it; not enough to submit the Reason, she reasons upon it; not indeed reasoning first, and believing afterwards, with Zacharias, yet first believing without reasoning, next from love and reverence, reasoning after believing. And thus she symbolizes to us, not only the faith of the unlearned, but of the doctors of the Church

¹ Newman, *Essay on Development*, p. 327.

also, who have to investigate, and weigh, and define, as well as to profess the Gospel. . . ."¹

The true Church lives as Mary lived, contemplating the truth, and so must grow in her understanding of Marian theology and doctrine. In the beginning of Discourse XVII of the *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, Newman shows how it is that worldly people, or people who have no interest in matters of religion, as well as those who know little and never think about divine things, find it impossible to follow the process of development in any branch of theology except the most superficial. As in other sciences, so in theology, the man who never concerns himself with these matters has no power of judgement and inference. To see what is demanded, for instance, by divine Motherhood, requires prayer, meditation, dwelling on the thought of Jesus or of Mary or of Grace, consideration of the sayings of the saints. Light comes with the help of the Holy Spirit, author of all divine wisdom, not by mere ratiocination.

So the Church, like Mary, keeping all these things and pondering them in her heart, praying and meditating and consulting the saints and doctors, is ever learning more about these divine mysteries. This is the reason why the Church continues to grow in her understanding of the theology of Our Lady. When theologians say that it is unfitting that Our Lady should be under the power of sin, they are not merely stating what they think is the way God should act, as Protestants sometimes assert. They are rather expressing the result of long consideration with the help of God's grace on the meaning of God and Motherhood. When they use the word "fitting", they mean something much more than English people usually mean by the term; they mean something which is logically involved in the concepts being considered, though they might not be able to express this logical connexion syllogistically.

We might conclude this section in words similar to several passages of Newman's *Essay on Development*. If there exists in the world today a form of Christianity distinct from others by its doctrine and devotion towards the Blessed Virgin Mary, unable to separate Son and Mother, associating Mary with the work of redemption in a way analogous to Eve's association with man's

¹ Newman, *Oxford University Sermons*, p. 313.

fall, living by faith and in the contemplation of the truths of faith, as occasion arises proclaiming new definitions with regard to the relation between Mother and Son, glorifying Mary as it glorifies other doctrines of the faith—if moreover it is accused by separated Christians of conferring exaggerated titles on Mary—if such a Church exists today, it is not very unlike the Church of the first centuries, as it first appears to history after coming forth from the Saviour.

Another sign of the identity between the Church today, with its doctrine of Our Lady, and the apostolic Church, is the logical cohesion of all doctrines, including those newly defined, with the revealed deposit. But even this is understood by Newman in his own way. It has already been touched upon, but will bear emphasis. Christian truth is not a series of dogmas, in such a way that newly defined dogmas are always drawn from one or other of a sort of primitive catalogue. It is rather one great undivided body of doctrine. Progress comes through a study of the whole, and discovery of new aspects. There are two reasons why, as said before, it is not necessarily possible to show formally and syllogistically the connexion of a new definition with former ones. (i) Though the dogma is logically connected with the original revelation, yet it does not pass from implicit to explicit formulation by means of formal logic, but rather by a subconscious vital process, which Newman sometimes called informal or implicit reasoning. (ii) It is a process from the whole less understood to the whole more clearly explained in certain parts, not a process from part to part.

As an example of this process, we might mention Newman's basing the honouring of saints on the Athanasian principle that Christians are made one with the flesh of Christ, and live by His life. Christians, in so far as they are Christians, are said by Athanasius and many others of the Fathers to be deified or divinized.¹ This dignity is greater in Mary than in us, because she is so much more closely joined to Christ; she is much more closely one with His life-giving flesh, and with His very God-head. Because of this, her life had to be a life more Christlike than that of other creatures. "I say, it would be a greater miracle if, her life being what it was, her death was like that of

¹ Newman, *Essay on Development*, pp. 140 ss.

other men, than if it were such as to correspond to her life. Who can conceive, my brethren, that God should so repay the debt, which He condescended to owe to His Mother, for the elements of His human body, as to allow the flesh and blood from which it was taken to moulder in the grave?"¹

Newman shows the logical connexion of the Assumption with Mary's sinlessness elsewhere. "Or who can conceive that that virginal frame, which never sinned, was to undergo the death of a sinner? Why should she share the curse of Adam, who had no share in his fall? 'Dust thou art and unto dust thou shalt return,' was the sentence upon sin; she then, who was not a sinner, fitly never saw corruption."²

But perhaps the greatest sign of faithfulness of the Church to herself through the ages is that all her doctrines tend to preserve the proper harmony and force of the whole. Devotion to Mary preserves the proper harmony in relation to the true devotion to her Son. Thus, in his *Essay on Development* Newman shows how the breviary office for the feasts of Mary differs from that for feasts of Our Lord. The office of the Trinity is always severe and profound, though most tender, and full of hope and submission. The office for the Assumption is characterized by that piety and warmth, which we should expect towards one who is, like ourselves, a child of Adam and a creature, yet marked with that moderation that is to be expected from sinners.

The true way to Mary, according to Newman, is by contemplating not her natural perfections, not possible miracles in her infancy and the like, but the perfections which belong to her motherhood, in respect of Christ and in respect of us. This is her whole glory. To concern oneself with perfections that do not flow from this motherhood is to detract from her greatest glory. That is why she is given no other mission in this world than to be the perfect Mother. Her work today is still a mother's work, to reproduce in the minds and hearts of Christ's members the image of their Head. Her work in co-operation with Christ is beautifully expressed towards the end of Newman's sermon on the Assumption. "It is the boast of the Catholic Religion, that

¹ Newman, *Discourses to Mixed Congregations*, p. 371.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 371-2.

it has the gift of making the young heart chaste; and why is this, but that it gives us Jesus Christ for our food, and Mary for our nursing Mother?"

H. FRANCIS DAVIS

THE FLIGHT FROM AN ULTIMATE REALITY

IN the Encyclical, *Humani Generis*, given at Rome on 12 August, 1950, Pope Pius XII deprecated a certain influence of modern trends of thinking upon the exposition of theology and philosophy in some Catholic centres. The introductory paragraphs of the Encyclical list these modern trends. They spring from a relativist attitude which attempts to explain everything—or removes the necessity for such explanation—through some process of evolution. Accepting the hypothesis of evolution without reserve—His Holiness is speaking here of non-Catholics—some of them "boldly give rein to monistic or pantheistic speculations which represent the whole universe as left at the mercy of a continual process of evolution". Speculation of this kind, continues the document, is eagerly welcomed by the Communists as means for spreading their system of dialectical materialism and for eradicating all concept of God from men's minds.

From this exaggerated emphasis upon evolution and upon what is *relative*, from the consequent denial of all that is fixed, absolute and abiding, has come a new philosophy of error. Idealism, Immanentism and Pragmatism have now a rival in what is known as Existentialism. This, as its name implies, focuses all attention on particular *existences*, leaving the permanent *essences* of things out of sight and mind.

The Encyclical then criticizes a false use of the *historical method*, which concentrates upon the data of human experience, which treats man, as certain German schools of thought have done in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, as a mere *historisches Wesen*, whose nature is woven essentially from and in

time. In so doing, adds the document, this method "contrives to undermine all *absolute* truth, all *absolute* laws, whether it is dealing with the problems of philosophy or with the doctrines of the Christian religion".

It is not my intention here to comment upon the main body of the Encyclical, in so far as it surveys a dangerous influence upon Catholic thought. What I hope to do is to point out how these trends of thinking have been and are prominent in the modern attitude to every kind of problem, in what may for convenience be termed the *modern mentality*.

Three significant differences may be remarked between the older, traditional and Christian outlook upon philosophy and life and the outlook of this modern mentality.

The former is *objective*; that is, it seeks reality beyond itself; its knowledge is determined by that reality. The latter is *subjective*; its knowledge proceeds from and is, in the main, conditioned by itself.

The former is *absolute*; it believes there are fixed laws and principles of thought and human life and conduct, that are valid for all time. The latter is *relative*; it rejects such absolute standards and thinks that everything is regulated by some process of evolution.

The former accepts the *mind* of man as his chief and most noble natural characteristic. The latter frequently includes a *revolt* against this hegemony of mind and endeavours, to a large extent, to explain human action and experience in non-rational terms.

Let me deal in this article with the first of these differences, that between the *objective* and the *subjective*, because this is, I consider, the root difference of the three. I begin from a certain ground position, that common, in the main, to the classical philosophy of Greece and Rome (with its span of more than one thousand years), to scholastic and Christian thought, and to many modern schools of thought up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and to some, though fewer, since. Further, in this outlook you have the proper human manner of thinking and the way in which the ordinary and normal man does actually think. It is an outlook that accepts a First Principle, Almighty God, as Creator and Lord of the universe (some

reservations, though not many, would need to be added here for an interpretation of Greek philosophy); an ordered and orderly world, which can be made the object of thought and knowledge; a world with purpose and meaning; an *objectivity of truth* (this point is fundamental), so that truth depends not upon myself or upon my mind, but exists apart from me or any other thinking subject, and is truth for myself and for any and every other mind; a stable order of morality, of Right and Wrong, which does not alter radically with different ages or with the prevailing whim or fashion; the existence behind our world of a stable Reality and of spiritual values.

This, I submit, is the ordinary, human, Western and Christian outlook. It is not the result of Christian revelation, for it is largely anterior to that revelation, though revelation does confirm it. It is discoverable and was actually discovered by the human mind. It is in the light of this outlook that I propose to examine these other tendencies, which make up what may be called the Modern Mind.

But there is no question of denying the importance of the *subjective* factor. Of course the individual mind enters into the moment of knowledge; without the mind there would be no knowledge at all. The question remains; where is precisely the proper direction of knowledge? Is it knowledge of something which calls for and insists upon acceptance? Or is it some subjective creation of the human mind? There is clearly some relativity in human experience. To some extent we think differently in different centuries. Here the problem is just how far this relativity may go. That there is evolution in nature is evident; it is equally clear that there is development in human experience and reaction. But is there no absolute background against which this play of development takes place? We insist that there is such a background, and that without that background the evolutionary process is unintelligible. Finally, it is true that, with the advance in psychology and other sciences during the nineteenth century much greater importance than hitherto must be given to not strictly rational factors, yet in spite of these scientific advances, man's ordinary intelligence remains his major path to the interpretation of human experience.

The chief problem of Philosophy—and that envisaged by

the ancient Greeks, the fathers of our Western thinking and the sources of much that we have inherited, apart from revelation, in Christian thought—was relatively simple in its position. It was the search for something *beyond* and *behind* our world of sensitive experience: a search for the *au delà*, which culminated in the Platonic explanation of reality, in the Platonic division between the world of True and Substantial Reality, abiding permanently above the vicissitudes of change and time, and our world here below of change and movement. For the classical Greek mind, which created our Western modes of thinking, there was this inevitable distinction: in Platonic terms, between a world of abiding and eternal Ideas or Forms and the continually changing world of sense experience. The former is the true world, the realm of *οὐσία* or Reality, and this is both the cause of whatever reality exists in the sublunary world, and at the same time it provides the only objects of genuine knowledge. It is permanent and stable, untouched by the passage of time or the experience of men. Its characteristics and qualities are mirrored in the lower world, and it is these traces of the divine which elevate men's minds to what is supremely real and therefore true.

This, I would call the basic distinction which is found, with some exceptions and variations, throughout the long milennial tradition of Greek philosophy. From it follow certain consequences, which may be briefly epitomized:

In the first place, the whole Greek emphasis is upon *Being* or *Reality*. There was, for the Greek mind, a realm of permanent Being, and this world was the cause and explanation of the derived and limited Being, of which men had experience in their sublunary world. This lower world was possible *only because* there existed a higher realm of Being or Reality.

In the second place, reality was for the Greeks the first and dominating thing. Things could be known *only* because they were real. You could enter into intellectual contact with things, with the objects of thought, *only because* these objects were real. Knowledge depended upon reality. Ontology—that is the search for real being—or to give it another name, *Metaphysics*, the quest, in the words of Aristotle, for what exists *μετὰ τὰ φυσικά* behind and beyond and superior to the realm of sensitive experience, was the proper subject for philosophical enquiry.

Then, thirdly, the Greeks recognized order and system in the universe, for the reason that the universe was controlled by and subject to Mind. This order had nothing to do with the mind of the individual thinker who speculated about the universe. The order was *there objectively*. The thinker might discover it; he did not create it. The Mind controlling the universe was, again for the Greeks, superhuman, the mind of God or of some inherent principle of divine Reason or some World Soul. In every case, the order was *there, objectively*. For the Greek mind, the process of knowledge was *discovery*, not construction.

Finally, the human mind was considered in the classical philosophy to be capable of arriving at this truth. But the truth, when it was eventually discovered, did not depend upon the individual human mind, though naturally a mind was necessary to apprehend it. It was *there*—that was the fundamental word—for every mind to discover that sought it with sufficient seriousness, and it was one and the same truth for every mind that attained to it.

As regards this fundamental approach to philosophy, the mind of the Christian did not differ at all essentially from that of the ancient Greek. For both, there existed a higher world, which was at once the origin and explanation of this world of our human experience. Only the Christian emphasis was, in the first place and all the time, on God, while the centre of Greek thinking was, more usually, the *κόσμος* or universe itself. For both, Being or Reality was anterior to knowledge, and knowledge was *discovery*. For both, order and system existed in the universe, because of the dependence of the universe upon that higher realm. The Christian conception was far more complete and far more subtle, for it included the notion of God's Providence, controlling and overruling this universe, and the fuller understanding of man's ultimate purpose, as subordinated to the Will of God and involving a supernatural destiny to be realized in an after life and in the close association of man with God Himself. The Christian revelation amplified and further illuminated the main tendencies in the traditional Greek philosophy, and corrected what was false, in content or in emphasis, in its doctrines.

Now opposed to this essentially *objective* outlook one discovers in much of modern philosophy, even as far back as the sixteenth century but far more noticeably in the nineteenth century, an outlook that is characteristically *subjective*. There are traces of it, too, in later medieval thought.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the crucible of our modern world. They were an era of revolt. In the religious sphere, against the authority of the Holy See and the notion of one Christian Church. Though the motives behind the revolt were often more social or political than religious, the revolt invoked the title of religious liberty and the rights of the individual conscience. In the social and economic spheres, the revolt was a reaction against the older and more corporate notion of society. Once again, the change was justified in the name of individual freedom. The new aristocracy and the commercial classes were to enjoy a measure of individual liberty and enterprise which the more conservative and Christian conscience of the Middle Ages would never have tolerated.

A similar movement towards individualism can be detected in the philosophy of the time. Here, the change was more gradual. But the shifting of emphasis is already there, with Descartes. The older approach to philosophical questions was, as I have pointed out, *objective* or *ontological*, that is, directed towards and geared to Being or Reality, *seinsbezogen*, as the Germans neatly put it. The question fundamentally was, "*What can I know?*" For them there existed an Ultimate Reality, which could be made the object of cognition. It was *there*, and there to be discovered. Truth signified an entering into mental contact with this Reality. The principal question remained: "*What is this Reality?*"

The new philosophy began to alter the emphasis of this primal problem. The question gradually came to be no longer, "*What can I know?*" but "*Can I know anything?*" or "*How can I know?*" What had been principally a problem of Reality now became a problem of Knowledge. The stress is transferred from the object that may be known to the subject in process of thinking. More and more, it was envisaged as the question how the thinking subject could emerge from his subjective conditions and enter into contact with something beyond himself. It was what

M. Gilson has termed the *problème du pont*, just how the mind of an individual can construct a bridge over which it may cross to objective Reality. And more and more, the answer to this question is negative and sceptical. In the last resort, so many of these philosophers are found to be saying, you cannot build this bridge. The thinking mind is thrown back upon itself. It is taken for granted either that the mind cannot reach objective Reality or that there is no such Reality to be reached or—a further possibility—that knowledge is a subjective construction of the thinking mind.

Again, I am not suggesting that this is the only line of development in modern thought. Far from it. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there were classical systems of philosophy on older lines, just as there exist the inevitable action and reaction of schools of thinking, towards and then away from Idealism. For the past three decades, in Britain and Europe, the tendency has been towards a newer Realism, though here too caution is required in the use of terms. A trend towards Realism does not necessarily mean a return to the traditional conception of Metaphysics.

One manner in which this subjective habit of thought showed itself was in eighteenth-century and later in nineteenth-century *Positivism*. This doctrine took for granted that the mind could attain to no absolute truth, nor could it enter into contact with any Ultimate Reality. Only that was real which was presented to the individual in sense experience, his own immediate experience through sight and touch and taste. These experiences were then interpreted in an atomic way; they were considered as made up of tiny atoms or elements of experience, which acted according to certain laws of association, attraction or repulsion. The explanation offered was wholly mechanical. The followers of Auguste Comte in nineteenth-century France spoke of these experiences and their objects (for it was possible to consider this double aspect) as *faits*, that is *facts*; they were all there was. Nothing might be accepted over and above these. Notions such as *cause*, *consequence*, *reason*, *motive*, and still more, any conception of God or spiritual ideas—these had to be rejected as fictitious and unreal. Nor was there any *law* in things. The one and only law, wrote Hippolyte Taine, one

of Comte's best-known disciples, is that there exists no law.

Positivism therefore limited the individual to the knowledge of things or facts presented to it through sense experience. There was nothing beyond. Even to put this further question was itself nonsense. The human mind is consequently forced back to the study of its immediate experiences. Objectivity, in the traditional sense, has gone.

It might seem curious to reflect that much, if not most, of the scientific advance of the past century was carried through in the spirit of Positivism. A poor philosophy, it appears, can go hand in hand with an excellent scientific method. The philosophy of the Positivists was certainly poor; the achievement of many Positivists in science was great. Indeed, their very success in scientific work was one of the reasons for their poor philosophy. For what they did was to apply methods that were admirable for the observation, analysis and measurement of scientific data to philosophy, another subject altogether.

Positivism was an abandonment of objectivity in the name of science and, in effect, of materialism. Correspondingly, an attempt was made to save this objectivity, from the side of the mind itself; yet, this ended in admitted failure and opened the door to the great systems of Idealism in Germany, which have had so far-reaching an influence.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century, the German philosopher, Kant, began an enquiry intended to rescue the mind from the evil consequences of Positivism and materialism. He put the question, whether the human mind was capable of reaching any certain and ultimate objects of knowledge, whether, in other words, there could be any Metaphysics. The question was perfectly legitimate, and in his writings Kant illuminated many a difficult problem of thought. Yet the final answer to his query was negative. The postulates of the Practical Reason, which Kant introduced to safeguard man's moral and religious position but which he admitted could not be justified by the Speculative Reason, were a practical confession of this failure.

As far as this article is concerned, Kant's position may be briefly stated as follows. Human knowledge, in his eyes, is con-

stituted by the activity of certain mental forms which exist *a priori* in the mind upon the blank and unformed material presented in sense experience. In other words, the mind contains a machinery which acts in a definite manner upon the virgin matter of experience, much as a printing machine imposes the prepared text on the white paper placed beneath it. This means—and here is the subjective focus—that knowledge is not a search for what is there, for Kant was highly doubtful whether *anything* was there, in the sense of the Kantian *Ding an sich*, over and above the elements of experience. Knowledge proceeds from the mind itself; it is the interpretation placed by the mind on the unformed and shapeless data of experience. Knowledge comes from the subject, and is subjective.

This knowledge in Kant's system was not, however, so completely subjective and individualistic as it was to become in subsequent German systems of Idealism. For Kant, the mind imposes meaning on the material of experience. But this it does, not in any arbitrary manner, but according to a mental machinery which is part of the human mind. Men's minds act in the same manner, men think in the same way, because all have the same intellectual machinery.

With the German Idealists like Fichte and Schelling, the old conception of knowledge completely disappears. Knowledge becomes the individual reaction of mind. Everything depends upon and, in the last resort, proceeds from mind. The notion of thing, of the object, has vanished, till one discovers, as in the neo-Hegelian Gentile, that object to be merely past acts of thinking, *pensiero pensato*, what one might call dead thoughts. Knowledge is no more discovery, for there is nothing to discover. It is creation or construction. The accent entire is now upon the subject.

This short analysis of modern subjectivism from the eighteenth into the nineteenth century could be applied to a similar development from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, with Positivism to one side of the development, and Neo-Kantian and Neo-Hegelian schools on the other. But on both sides it is the subject that matters; each approach is subjective.

The consequences of this drift towards Subjectivism have

been very serious; they have provided what I would call the chief factor in this modern mentality.

It has stimulated materialism. Of course, there have always been some materialists; they are not peculiar to modern philosophy. This subjective tendency has, however, encouraged them. For it has lost the old contact with Ultimate Reality. It has robbed the mind of confidence in itself. It has created an atmosphere of scepticism and agnosticism. Well then, men will argue, if nothing can be known for sure, if our minds are feeble and unable to transcend this realm of immediate experience, let us at least cling tenaciously to this realm. So we reach the situation of the Positivists, who concentrate on what is presented to their observation, on what can be checked and weighed and measured. Their scientific approach will tolerate nothing that cannot be made amenable to their scientific technique.

The outlook of the Positivists has been at times affected by another outlook, common in North American and also in British thinking, that which is usually described as *Pragmatist*. The Pragmatist is not, or need not be, a materialist, but he shares this sceptical approach to ultimate truth. Its possibility he will not rule out completely; he considers, however, that it cannot become an object of human knowledge. Neither can absolute standards of morality be proved. Nevertheless—and here is the point of the pragmatic position—we have to live *as though* such higher principles were valid; otherwise human life would lose its decency and dignity. We have to behave *as though* these principles were true, although it is impossible to prove that truth. A similar trend may be discovered in the German school of *Vaihinger*, with his philosophy of the *Als-Ob* (As-If). Once again, the individual is thrown back upon himself. His mind is not sufficient to establish a definite intellectual position. He is saved in practice by the acceptance of standards which he admits he cannot prove or justify, except that without them human life would sink into degradation. The “as though” of the Pragmatist is an echo of the Kantian postulates of the Practical Reason, a confession of the insufficiency of modern thought.

There is little need to argue that the trend towards the subjective has stimulated Idealism. So far as knowledge is in ques-

tion, Idealism is a doctrine which asserts that nothing is real save what proceeds from the mind. For the idealist, thus conceived, knowledge is a construction. It emerges from the mind, and its validity is that only of the mind from which it comes. This "mind" may be the mind of the individual thinker or it may be some wider and more general *Mind* or *Consciousness*, of which the individual mind is an aspect or a part. In either case, the external world, as the ordinary man or the traditional philosopher has known it—and that world of objective and stable truth—have disappeared; there is no Objective Reality.

One final consequence of this subjective tendency is a deep distrust and, in certain cases, an abandonment of Reason. If the ultimate conclusion of philosophy is that the human mind cannot reach out to some Ultimate Reality or that there exists no Ultimate Reality towards which the mind can soar but only the data of sense experience or the airy construction of philosophic castles in the clouds, then the poor mind of man is in a sorry state. His ancient and honourable title of "rational creature" has come to mean very little indeed.

Earlier in this article, I have mentioned two other differences between the older and the more modern thinking.

The first of these is the general desertion by the moderns of the notion of stable Being and Reality. Its place is taken by the idea of Movement or Becoming. Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century and up to today, men have explained things, not by what they are in themselves but as elements in some general process of evolution. The modern emphasis is on what is *relative*, and *relative* to a process, to a general movement.

The second is a depreciation of Reason as the principal element in man's constitution and activity. Problems are solved, and difficulties explained or explained away increasingly by non-rational factors.

Of these significant developments I hope to speak later.

JOHN MURRAY, S.J.

THE THOMIST CONGRESS, 1950

THERE have been congresses in Rome this year for groups innumerable, from actors to prison-chaplains, succeeding one another with unabated intensity. If the opportunity offered by the Editor is here taken of chronicling a few impressions of the meeting that was called in September by the Pontifical Academy of St Thomas, that is only in the belief that such an account may be of interest to the clergy, since the Academy is not an ephemeral body called into being for the Holy Year, but has had congresses previously in 1924 and 1936, and has some hopes now of calling meetings in the future at five-yearly intervals. It is moreover concerned with promoting interest in the theology and philosophy of St Thomas, with which we are all concerned in some way or other.

The first contrast with previous meetings of the Academy was the great number of papers to be read, a total of 92, which can be broken down in various ways, into 36 Italians and 56 from outside Italy, or into 11 Dominicans, 23 Jesuits, 16 laymen and 3 ladies, etc., etc. The first congress in 1924 was addressed by about eight Cardinals or bishops and held three private discussions and was then content to go home, but Thomism has developed since then. In particular, about half the chairs of philosophy in Italian universities are now held by practising Catholics, and the presence of some of these at the congress was a welcome sign of the times. It almost looked as if there was a desire on the part of the organizers to outdo Amsterdam, where the 1948 secular congress of philosophy was inundated by the crowds of would-be speakers. A reviewer remarked wistfully in a recent philosophical magazine that a Thomist had the choice of about twenty European periodicals, if he wanted to market his wares, while the contracting circle of secular reviews is somewhat irksome to the non-Catholic writer.

The only visitors from these islands were a professor from Maynooth, a Dominican from Blackfriars, a Franciscan from Forest Gate and the writer of these lines. There was a notable group of Americans, many from France and Belgium, including a strong team from Louvain, and a very large Spanish con-

tingent. It became evident on the very first morning, soon after Cardinal Pizzardo had opened the proceedings, that there was not going to be time for the discussions that were advertised to take place after the reading of the papers at the morning and evening sessions. A compromise was reached whereby the hall *dei Cento Giorni* (painted by Vasari in 100 days), adjoining the main hall in the great Renaissance *palazzo della Cancelleria*, was to be used for discussion in the evenings, while papers were being read concurrently in the main hall. Even this discussion was somewhat limited, as the hall required the use of a microphone, and the only discussion possible was that between a lecturer of the morning and his interlocutor, who passed the microphone from one to the other. This limitation led to some amusing situations, when one of the disputants would hold on to the microphone with obvious reluctance to allow his opponent to shatter him with a well-timed remark. The lofty ceilings of a Renaissance *palazzo* make it extremely hard to follow a general discussion taking place at one end of a room when one is standing at the other, but it is to be hoped that the organizers of the next Academy meeting devise some means for promoting general discussions, even at the expense of the number of papers. The art of orderly discussion, under the guidance of a chairman, is not understood South of the Alps in the same way as it is in these parts. One heard a French Dominican saying outside in the *cortile* (where much informal discussion took place in all the languages), "Les Nordiques sont tous mécontents . . ." Perhaps it is our parliamentary institutions that make us more familiar with the practice of constructive debate, but certainly the meeting could have been improved by cutting down the number of papers by at least half and leaving the rest of the time for discussion on certain leading topics.

The subject of the congress was the borderland between faith and reason. This was mapped out into six distinct regions or topics; the proofs of the existence of God, the function of reason in the act of faith, the power of reason to ascertain the end of man, the relation of Christianity to history, the impact of the new existentialisms on the Christian faith and finally the philosophy of mysticism. Each topic had originally a day to itself, but as the numbers of papers sent in for the first topic

was greater than that offered on any of the others, Monday's business overflowed on to the other days, especially the third and the fourth, where there were surprisingly few who wished to expound their ideas. It will be seen at once that many of the topics covered ground that had recently been touched upon by the encyclical *Humani Generis*, and it was interesting to gather in the informal discussions of the *cortile*, individual points of view from theologians of many lands. There was also to be enjoyed the Aristotelian pleasure of *identification*, that "Baedeker" sensation of realizing that here is the author of such and such a work, often handled in print but never adequately visualized in the flesh, the phantasm never being a quite worthy accompaniment of the high abstraction of the author's thought.

On the first morning a difference of view was manifest between one of the Louvain team, Canon van Steenberghen, and Fr Boyer of the Gregorian University, on the scope of the five ways, as they are put by St Thomas himself. In England the debate has already been held on one of the main points at issue here, in the discussions between Sir Edmund Whittaker and the reviewers of his *Space and Spirit*. His colleague, Mgr de Raeymaecker, head of the *Institut Supérieur de Philosophie* at Louvain, set out some new and interesting ideas on the value of the principle of causality. He rejected the attempts to establish this principle by a "phenomenological" examination of the data of one's own experience of free choice and movement; neither was the principle self-evident or reducible by analysis to the form $A=A$, as Wolff (and after him many Scholastics) had said. There remained a new analysis of the notion of participated being, which he expounded at some length. Here again, the discussion would have profited by the injection of some of the original ideas to be found in Dr Hawkins's *Causality and Implication*, and the exact notion of analogy of being that was being pre-supposed might have been made more apparent. Indeed throughout the meeting the need for a full discussion of the analogy of being was obvious. It cropped up in many of the papers, but nowhere was it dealt with *ex professo*. It might well appear on the agenda of the next meeting.

Professor E. Gilson in a characteristic paper spoke a word

of warning against basing the proof of the existence of God on the real distinction: St Thomas had been content to set forth his five ways in elementary fashion in the *Summa*, while the real distinction was reserved for the more advanced work *De Ente et Essentia*, a work which was clearly not meant to give the pre-suppositions of the five ways. Anything like the rigidly articulated system of Fr Mattiussi's "Twenty-four theses" was to be deprecated. The real distinction was perhaps derived by St Thomas from his reflections upon Scripture and not from a directly metaphysical source, being glimpsed in the words of God in the Old Testament: "I am who am."

Each morning began with a half-hour's *relatio* on the theme of the day by one of the permanent members of the Academy, after which the papers, rationed to twenty minutes each, followed in the order of their relevance to the theme under discussion. Time-keeping was better on the second and subsequent days than it had been on the first, but even so there were some notable lapses. There was on the Tuesday a striking paper by Fr de Vries, S.J., of Munich on the limited scope of reason in the act of faith. He put forward a distinction between the perception of the truth to be believed and the actual assent of faith. In the former act intellect could have the primacy, but in the assent the will must be supreme. When questioned afterwards on the source of his ideas, he admitted that it all came from Newman, a fitting witness to the interest in Newman's work now shown in Germany.

The third morning saw the English-speaking element fully engaged, for there was an interesting paper on man's natural finality, from Professor A. C. Pegis, formerly of Fordham and now of Toronto, and an inquiry into St Thomas's use of *synderesis* by Fr Michael Browne, O.P., the kindly Irish Dominican, who has seen many generations of students pass through the *Angelicum* in Rome. The writer of these lines also tried to put into twenty minutes the results of an examination of St Thomas's commentaries on the *Ethics*, where the saint quietly adjusts Aristotle's pagan notions of man's end to a more Christian pattern and gives by the way his own idea of man's natural beatitude. Perhaps the subject of natural beatitude has been talked out in other countries, but it is certainly notable that half

the papers on this topic came from the English-speaking world.

"Christianity and History" lent itself to a more rhetorical treatment than the earlier topics and the Latin nature came into its own. One was struck by the absence of all knowledge of Professor Butterfield's work, though Cullmann did, of course, receive notice. It was however very clear that the lecturers had not all of them the same idea of the level of their audience; some were content with an elementary treatment of their subject, and once the Congress was treated to a harangue which, apart from its quotations from "St Denis the Areopagite", might have stirred the congregation at a Lenten mission. There were, however, many who clearly saw that they were facing a professional audience and could dispense with preliminaries in order to come quickly to their business. On the fifth day there was an admirable paper by Fr Lotz, S.J., of Munich who put before the Congress a very clear account of Heidegger's attitude to the philosophy of theism. As in the House of Commons, the audience gradually formed the habit of drifting out into the *cortile* for private discussion on these later days until the notice might go round that some weightier speaker was "up", and then they all flowed back into the hall. Language difficulties did not seem to count for much. Latin or Italian of course predominated, but it was certainly remarkable how many listened to the German paper of Fr Lotz or to the solitary English discourse of Professor Pegis. One was constantly answering questions from all quarters on this or that aspect of English thought and life.

The last day was shorter, for by then even the most eager were beginning to tire, and the pleasant and clear exposition, by Fr Gabriel of St Mary Magdalen O.D.C., of his personal position on the question of comparative mysticism, or "mystics outside the Church", found an appreciative, though not entirely convinced, audience. The next day there was the trek to Castel Gandolfo, where in a short discourse the Holy Father exhorted us all to go back and expound his encyclical *Humani Generis* to our students, and then we all went home.

J. H. CREHAN, S.J.

AN EXPERIMENT

P^IUS XI professed his frank amazement when he learned that there was not a single diocese in which the members of the Missionary Union of the Clergy (M.U.C.) totalled one-half of the diocesan clergy. In England we are, unhappily, well below even that meagre mark; and the Province of Westminster, holding its first M.U.C. Congress this year, was able to muster no more than thirty priests to attend. It is safe to say that these thirty priests went back to their parishes and religious houses reinvigorated and stimulated as much by the atmosphere of the Congress as by the papers they had heard read, and the sermons they had listened to.

The National Director of the Pontifical Mission Aid Societies (A.P.F., Holy Childhood, etc.), in an endeavour to make the M.U.C. better and more widely known, convened the first two-day Congress at St Edmund's College in August. Primarily for the Province of Westminster, it was nevertheless open to any priests in England. In buildings impregnated and studded with reminders of the penal days, seculars and regulars met and discussed missionary problems and missionary work. It was hard at first to throw off the habits of seminary years and the atmosphere of Annual Retreats. Almost furtively, priests could be seen conversing in the corridors and in the grounds, as former students of the College expatiated on its glories to newcomers.

Each day there were two morning Conferences and a Holy Hour in the evening. The *leit-motiv* of the Congress was the frequently quoted saying of Pius XI: "If we have not a real and active interest in the missions, then we lack something which is essential to our priesthood."

We were fortunate in having a Missionary Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Joseph Byrne, C.S.Sp., Bishop of Kilima-Njaro in Africa, to act as chairman at our gatherings. His lordship was able to supplement the papers and to answer questions with first-hand information from his long experience in the Foreign Missions. Another Missionary Bishop, the Prefect Apostolic of Benue in Africa, the Rt. Rev. James Hagan, C.S.Sp., also attended one of the Conferences.

On the first day the Very Rev. R. Bresciani, F.S.C.J., dwelt upon the fundamental problem of the Native Clergy, stressing particularly the notable change in the Church's attitude to the Foreign Missions, a change for which Pope Pius XI, the Pope of the Missions, was responsible. In the last forty years Catholics had been brought to realize that the Foreign Missions were not, so to speak, a sideline; that it was not sufficient for missionaries to go out baptizing the natives and administering to them the Sacraments. The aim of the Foreign Missions must be to implant the Church in every land and to establish it there, with a native clergy and a native hierarchy.

For the second Conference we were treated to a very deep and learned paper by the only Doctor of Mission Science in this country, the Vicar-General of Mill Hill, the Rev. John Thoonen, D.M.Sc., which had for its subject "The Priesthood of Christ a Missionary Priesthood." So great was the impression created by this paper that in response to a general request it was agreed that it should be published. Later, by common consent, it was decided that all the papers should be published in brochure form together with the two sermons at the Holy Hours.

On the second day the two proponents allied erudite papers with a racy form of mirth-provoking wit. The Rev. Thomas Holland, D.D., Ph.D., D.S.C., of the Catholic Missionary Society, aroused intense interest by his revelations of the state of religion in general in this country. The title of his paper, "The M.U.C. and the conversion of England", lent itself admirably to an account of the Catholic Missionary Society's experiences in the various towns and hamlets of England. His findings were backed by some astonishing statistics, the fruit of many years' labour and research, the basis of his thesis for the Doctorate in Rome.

The final paper was given by the Rev. William Grice, C.S.Sp., a missionary from Africa. From him we learnt much about native customs and habits, native sorcery and magic. His frequent asides, for which he offered an unnecessary apology, were even more informative and more than once reduced the assembly to a state of helpless laughter. "The value of native brides," we were told, for example, "goes by weight, like promotion in the Egyptian army." The papers on the second day

were followed by questions and discussions as a result of a general request the previous evening.

Each evening was rounded off by a Holy Hour, during which prayers for the Missions were said and missionary hymns sung and two excellent sermons given by the Rt. Rev. Mgr. R. A. Knox and the Rev. Ambrose Agius, O.S.B.

One of the brightest features of the Congress, and not the least helpful when discussion became general, was the after-supper Common Room Discussion each evening. By a happy blending of the *tempus loquendi* and *tempus bibendi* the clergy were able to talk over their difficulties and problems, and to make useful suggestions for the advancement of missionary interest in the country. It was unanimously agreed to publish all the papers and sermons, probably as a supplement to the M.U.C.'s monthly review *The Outlook*, and that other Congresses should be held next year, possibly one in the North and one in the South.

The general impression of the clergy present was that the National Director's *coup d'essai* had been a *coup de maître*, and that far more benefit had been derived from the Congress than from many a Retreat. I know one parish priest at least who gave missionary sermons morning and evening the following Sunday, with Missionary Devotions¹ as well in the evening, and used *The Outlook* to good purpose for sermon matter.

R. E. SCANTLEBURY

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

OBLIGATION OF RECEIVING CONFIRMATION

Is there now a grave obligation on the faithful when dying to seek the sacrament of confirmation? (R.)

REPLY

Canon 787: *Quamquam hoc sacramentum non est de necessitate medii ad salutem, nemini tamen licet, oblata occasione,*

¹ Missionary Devotions in booklet form may be obtained, in any quantity, from the National Director, A. P. F., 23 Eccleston Square, London, S.W.1.

illud negligere; imo parochi curent ut fideles ad illud opportuno tempore accedant.

Benedict XIV, *Etsi Pastoralis*, 26 May, 1742; *Fontes*, n. 328, III, §4 . . . monendi tamen sunt ab Ordinariis Locorum, eos gravis peccati reatu teneri, si cum possunt ad confirmationem accedere, illam renuunt, ac negligunt.

Propaganda, 4 May, 1774; *Fontes*, n. 4565: . . . etsi enim hoc Sacramentum non sit de necessitate medii ad salutem, tamen sine gravis peccati reatu respui non potest, ac negligi, cum illud suscipiendi opportuna datur occasio.

S. Off., 20 June, 1866; *Fontes*, n. 994, n 40: . . . omnino periculosum esset, si ab hac vita sine Confirmatione migrare contingeret, non quia damnaretur, nisi forte propter contemptum, sed quia detrimentum perfectionis pateretur.

It cannot be proved, either from the nature of this sacrament or from any certain positive law, that its reception is a grave obligation in itself, apart from such extrinsic circumstances as the necessity of avoiding scandal, or when refusal is due to contempt. The Benedictine phrase, as is clear from the context of the whole document, is usually explained by pointing out that the Italo-Greeks, for whose instruction the Pope was writing, were in fact guilty of contempt in refusing confirmation from a bishop, the Holy See having withdrawn the faculty from their priests.¹ The phrase in *Fontes*, n. 4565, is drawn from the Benedictine constitution, cited in a footnote; it is not a law but an instruction giving the teaching of the Roman Congregation at that time. St. Alphonsus relied on the Benedictine statement for his stricter view,² and some modern manualists, relying on both the above texts, argue that the obligation is a grave one.³ The majority of commentators think it is not grave, and their view may safely be accepted.⁴ The teaching of *Propaganda* in 1774 is not sustained by the Holy Office in *Fontes*, n. 994, and the earlier instruction is no longer printed in the Appendix to the Roman Ritual.⁵ The mild terms of canon 787 are reflected in canon 1021, §2, directing that parties about to be married

¹ De Smet, *De Sacramentis*, §396.

² E.g. Aertnys-Damen, II, §92.

³ *Theol. Moral.*, VI, n. 182, ad finem.

⁴ E.g. Iorio, *Theol. Moral.*, III, §89.

⁵ Noldin, loc. cit., edition 1935, is to be corrected on this point: he is referring, no doubt, to the edition of the Ritual previous to that of 1925.

should be confirmed if it can be done without grave inconvenience. Nothing appears to modify the milder view in the 1946 decree,¹ which facilitates the reception of this sacrament, and commentators remain unwilling to assert a grave obligation.²

FUNCTIONS AT THE ALTAR OF EXPOSITION

What is the force of the prohibition of saying the Mass for Peace during the Forty Hours Devotion at the altar of Exposition, and of giving Holy Communion from the same altar during that Mass and before Mass on the following day? Does long custom justify this? Or does the fact that the use of another altar entails some inconvenience? Or would these two reasons combined be sufficient to justify continuance? (X.)

REPLY

S.R.C., 27 July, 1927; A.A.S., 1927, XIX, p. 289. An liceat Missam cum cantu vel lectam coram SSmo Sacramento velato vel in pyxide exposito, intra vel extra tabernaculum? Et quatenus negative, utrum huiusmodi usus saltem tolerari possit? *Resp.* Sacra eadem Congregatio, audito specialis Commissionis suffragio, respondendum censuit "negative ad utrumque". Hanc nacta occasionem ipsa S.R.C. decreta n. 3448, 11 Martii, 1878, et n. 4353, 17 Aprilis, 1919, circa Missam et sacram Communionem in Altari expositionis SSmi Sacramenti, adhuc in suo robore manere declarat; eorumque observantia a Revms locorum Ordinariis peculiari studio curanda est.

N. 4353 referred to in the above reply forbade both practices "sine necessitate vel gravi causa, vel de speciali indulto". Since the terms of the prohibition are unusually explicit, and Ordinaries are specially instructed to secure their observance, our opinion is that merely the inconvenience of using another altar does not justify a violation of the law. If the church has only one altar this seems to us a grave reason; otherwise an indult should be obtained.

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1947, XXVII, p. 54.

² E.g. Pistoni, *De Confirmatione a Ministro Extraordinario*, §40.

A well-informed writer, after stating that there is in Rome a custom of celebrating Mass at the altar of exposition, and that the Holy See has granted indulgences for the purpose to many confraternities and institutes, expresses the wish that parish churches should have the indulgence, in order that the faithful hearing Mass should not be encouraged, as it were, to neglect the altar of exposition.¹ Whether the law of custom is verified in the above query we have no means of saying, and it is always a difficult enterprise to establish the fact, especially with regard to liturgical laws.

PARTIALLY APPROVED LITANIES

Notwithstanding the law which permits only certain Litanies to be recited in public, it is a common practice publicly to recite those approved for confraternities or for religious Institutes. Is this in order? (R.)

REPLY

Canon 1259, §2: *Loci Ordinarius nequit novas litanias approbare publice recitandas. Cf. S. Off., 18 April, 1860; Fontes, n. 958.*

S.R.C., 29 August, 1882, n. 3555.2: *Monitum de quo agitur (16 June, 1880—not in D.A.) respicere Litanias in liturgicis et publicis functionibus recitandas; posse vero, immo teneri Ordinarios alias seu novas Litanias examinare, et quatenus expedire iudicaverint, approbare; at nonnisi pro privata atque non liturgica recitatione.*

6 March, 1894, n. 3820.2: *Num invocationes ad normam Litaniarum, in honorem Sacrae Familiae, Mariae Perdolentis, S. Ioseph aliorumque Sanctorum, in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis publicis recitari possint? Resp. Negative.*

20 June, 1896, n. 3916: *Num prohibitio recitandi aut cantandi in Ecclesiis . . . complectatur etiam quamlibet earum*

¹ *Ephemerides Liturgicae—Ius et Praxis*, 1942, p. 83.

recitationem, a pluribus coniunctim in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis publicis, absque ministri Ecclesiae *qua talis* interventu factam? Resp. *Affirmative*.

11 Februarii, 1898, n. 3981.1: Num eiusmodi peculiares Litaniae ita strictim prohibeantur, ut Monialibus . . . non liceat illas privatim canere vel recitare ad instar precum oratorium? Resp. *Negative*; h.e. ita strictim non sunt prohibitae, ut singulis privatim eas non liceat cantare vel recitare.

i. The restriction on Litanies in canon 1259, §2, limits the power of local Ordinaries in authorizing public devotions, a point discussed a short time ago.¹ The Litanies approved by the Holy See unreservedly are those in the Breviary, Missal and Ritual: the Litany of the Saints in various forms, the one in *Ordo Commendationis Animae*, and the four given in Tit. x of the Ritual and in *Preces et Pia Opera*. All other Litanies, approved either by the Holy See or by local Ordinaries, are not for public recitation.

The distinction between public and private, which is a well-known obscurity both in liturgy (e.g. *missa privata*) and in canon law (e.g. *impedimentum publicum*), gave rise to many replies from the Sacred Congregation, of which a selection is given above; they are all strict except the answer to the first query of n. 3981, in which the word "privatim" cannot mean "alone and secretly", for no one would sing a litany alone, and it is of the nature of a litany to have responses such as "pray for us". "Public" in this connexion, therefore, means liturgical worship wherever carried out, and also non-liturgical worship or devotions held in a church or public oratory.

ii. There are confraternity manuals, authorized by local Ordinaries, containing Litanies which may not be recited publicly in the sense determined above; the rules sometimes direct the recitation of a litany of this kind at the weekly meeting, and the meeting is normally in a public oratory or church: hence the difficulty put by our correspondent, which would not exist, in our view, if the meeting took place in a house or in an oratory to which the public have no right of access.²

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1950, XXXIV, p. 51.

² Cf. Vermeersch-Creusen, *Epitome*, II, §660.

We cannot find this point fully discussed by the commentators, many of whom appear to give, as a matter of course, a strict solution which disallows a common recital of these litanies at any time and in any circumstances in a public church or Oratory.¹ This is the safest course to follow: rectors of churches may adopt it and substitute a fully authorized Litany in place of the one directed in the manual.

A more liberal solution might be offered, perhaps, by arguing that the meeting, though held in a church, is technically for the members of the confraternity alone and not for the general public; that the confraternity has to use the church in default of an oratory of its own; or that there is a custom *contra legem* in these circumstances. One must also allow, in instances where a confraternity manual is authorized by local Ordinaries, that an indult may have been obtained.

iii. It may reasonably be asked why Ordinaries may in the common law authorize any kind of public prayers and devotions² except litanies. The reason is, no doubt, that the litany form of public worship is something specifically liturgical in origin, and devotional imitations of this liturgical form are liable, in the public estimation, to be regarded as liturgical worship, which it has long been the exclusive province of the Holy See to regulate.³

RE-CONSECRATING A CHALICE

May a domestic prelate properly request delegation from his bishop for the purpose of re-consecrating a chalice. (W. M.)

REPLY

Canon 1147, §1: Consecrationes nemo qui character episcopali careat, valide peragere potest, nisi vel iure vel apostolico indulto id ei permittatur.

Episcopal Quinquennial Faculties, Formula III, "Ex S. Con-

¹ Gougnard, *De Indulgentiis*, p. 307, n. 3; Bryce, *Juris Canonici Compendium*, II, p. 116.

² Canon 1259, §1.

³ Canon 1257.

gregatione Rituum": Deputandi Vicarium Generalem vel alium sacerdotem, in aliqua ecclesiastica dignitate constitutum, ad consecrandas calices et patenas; servato ritu et forma Pontificalis Romani."

The power validly to consecrate a chalice, which otherwise may not lawfully be used for Mass, is given *a iure* to Cardinals, Vicars and Prefects Apostolic, and to an abbot *nullius*.¹ It is obtained by apostolic indult, either directly from the Holy See, or on being delegated by a bishop who enjoys the faculty of so doing. This is variously expressed in the different *pagellae* of Quinquennial Faculties. Thus, in Formula IV granted to American bishops, the phrase quoted above reads: "Deputandi sacerdotes, si fieri potest, in aliqua ecclesiastica dignitate, etc." The words "si fieri potest" permit a greater latitude in the choice of an ecclesiastic, and in some American dioceses it is enjoyed by all the Vicars Forane.² The term "in aliqua ecclesiastica dignitate" refers not to the technical meaning of "dignitas" in canons 391-422, namely "dignitaries" in Chapters, e.g. the Provost, but to any dignity conferred on a priest by his obtaining some ecclesiastical office or honour. Certainly, a domestic prelate comes within the meaning in this context, and the writers include such persons as the Official, Synodal judge, or Synodal examiner. It is entirely a matter for the bishop to decide, since he may, if he sees fit, deny the faculty to any priest no matter what his ecclesiastical dignity may be.³

NON-CATHOLICS AND MARRIAGE NULLITY

A Catholic lady has an opportunity of marriage with a non-Catholic in circumstances which would certainly induce the grant of a dispensation from mixed religion. The man, however, is divorced, but his marriage (with a cousin) was certainly invalid owing to the impediment of consanguinity. Can he, though not a Catholic, obtain a nullity declaration? (V.)

¹ Canons 239, §1.20; 294, §2; 323, §2.

² Snee-Clark, *Diocesan Faculties in the United States*, p. 50.

³ Eagleton, *Diocesan Quinquennial Faculties*, p. 127.

REPLY

Provida, 15 August, 1936, art. 35, §3: Itidem actoris partes agere nequeunt in causis matrominalibus acatholici sive baptizati sive non baptizati; si quidem speciales occurrant rationes ad eosdem admittendos, recurrendum est in singulis casibus ad S.C.S. Officii (cfr. responsionem S.C.S.O., dici 27 ianuarii 1928).

S. Off., 22 March, 1939; *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1939, XVI, p. 553: (2) Utrum Promotor Iustitiae, vi canonis 1971, nulla praehabita facultate a S. Officio, matrimonium accusare possit si nullitas matrimonii fuerit denunciata a coniuge acatholico? *Resp.* Negative, nisi publicum bonum, Ordinarii iudicio, id postulet.

i. If he were a Catholic there would be no obstacle to his obtaining expeditiously a declaration of nullity with the summary process of canons 1990-1992 and *Provida*, art. 226-31. Non-Catholics are in principle barred from bringing their marriage cases to an ecclesiastical court, since a person cannot reasonably demand the judgement of the Church whilst denying its jurisdiction and authority.

There is, however, some reason for doubting whether the bar applies to a non-Catholic seeking merely the benefit of the summary procedure of canons 1990-1992, and not needing the formality and solemnities of a full trial. The view that the bar does not apply is supported by private declarations of the Holy Office itself;¹ but some writers, relying on the Code Commission reply, 6 December, 1943,² which declared the summary process to be judicial not administrative, think that the bar does apply to these cases.³ The priest interested in the above case may properly seek a summary decision on behalf of the parties.

ii. If this is refused owing to a strict curial interpretation of the rule barring a non-Catholic, special reasons may urge a relaxation of the rule, in which case recourse must be had to the Holy Office, unless in the Ordinary's judgement the public good justifies the intervention of the Promotor of Justice.

¹ Cf. *THE CLERGY REVIEW*, 1933, VI, p. 71.

² *Op. cit.*, 1944, XXIV, p. 567.

³ Cf. Doheny, *Canonical Procedure—Informal*, p. 152.

COMMUNION BEFORE CONVENTUAL MASS

If the conventual Mass is a low Mass, may the celebrant distribute Holy Communion immediately beforehand, as he is permitted to do at any low Mass? (P.)

REPLY

Canon 846, §1: Quilibet sacerdos intra Missam et, si privatim celebret, etiam proxime ante et statim post, sacram communionem ministrare potest. . . .

S.R.C., 19 January, 1906, n. 4177-3: An sacerdos sacris vestibus Sacrificii indutus, possit administrare Sacram Communionem, data rationabili causa, ante vel post Missam solemnem aut cantatam aut etiam conventualem, sicut permittitur ante vel post Missam privatam? *Resp.* Negative.

The word "private" in the canon, though capable of many meanings, is taken by the Sacred Congregation to mean a Mass which is neither sung nor conventual, and the latter can only mean a conventual low Mass in the context of the reply. The reason for applying the rule to the conventual Mass may be the fact that it is immediately preceded and followed by the recitation of divine office, which it is unseemly to interrupt by a distinct rite of distributing Holy Communion; or the reason may be that the conventual Mass is, from canon 413, §2, normally a sung Mass and retains the rules proper thereto even when it is not sung.

WORDS OF ANTHEMS

Listening to church music on the radio or gramophone one is usually quite unable to discern the words sung. Is there any book containing a collection of anthems—words only? I have sought without success for "Spem in alium" by Tallis. (R.)

REPLY

The only book we know of is *Words of Anthems*, revised edition 1946, published at 7s. 6d. by Novello, 160 Wardour Street. The editors of this useful collection, of which the final choice appears to have been left to Dr E. H. Fellowes, had the choirs of Anglican Cathedrals chiefly in mind. It contains 550 items chosen on the principle of including every anthem sung in at least five cathedrals. They are mostly, of course, English pieces but a number of Latin ones are in the book, including rather surprisingly "Tu es Petrus" by Byrd and Palestrina.

For the words of anthems not in this book, one must have recourse to the musical score, which is usually expensive,¹ or one must assiduously make a private collection of cuttings from programmes. In spite of many invitations the gramophone companies have so far declined to present a copy of the words with each record sold, and quite frequently the booklet presented with complete sets lacks the words. Perhaps some of our readers may know of a published collection in addition to those already mentioned.

In the forty-part motet "Spem in alium" by Tallis it is quite impossible to discern the words owing to the volume of voices. The text given by one of the musical critics when the record was published a year or two ago is as follows:

Spem in alium nunquam habui
 Praeter in Te Deus Israel.
 Qui irascaris et propitius eris
 Et omnia peccata hominum in tribulatione dimittis.
 Domine Deus, Creator coeli et terrae,
 Respice humilitatem nostram.

E. J. M.

¹ For an inexpensive collection of a hundred scores, cf. *The Church Anthem Book*, 10s. 6d., Oxford University Press.

ROMAN DOCUMENT

THE BULL "MUNIFICENTISSIMUS DEUS"¹

CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA

QUA

FIDEI DOGMA DEFINITUR

DEIPARAM VIRGINEM MARIAM

CORPORE ET ANIMA

FUISSE AD CAELESTEM GLORIAM

ASSUMPTAM

(Osservatore Romano, 2 Nov., 1950)

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

1. Munificentissimus Deus, qui omnia potest, cuiusque providentiae consilium sapientia et amore constat, arcano suae mentis proposito populorum singulorumque hominum dolores intersertis temperat gaudiis, ut, diversis rationibus diversisque modis, ipsum diligentibus omnia cooperentur in bonum (Cfr. *Rom.* 8, 28).

2. Iamvero Pontificatus Noster, quemadmodum praesens aetas, tot curis, sollicitudinibus angoribusque premitur ob gravissimas calamitates ac multorum a veritate virtuteque aberrationes; cernere tamen magno Nobis solacio est, dum catholica fides publice actuo-seque manifestatur, pietatem erga Deiparam Virginem vigere ac fervere cotidie magis, ac fere ubique terrarum melioris sanctionis vitae praebere auspicia. Quo fit ut, dum Beatissima Virgo sua materna munia pro Christi sanguine redemptis amantissime explet, filiorum mentes animique ad studiosiorem eius privilegiorum contemplationem impensius excitentur.

3. Deus reapse, qui ex omni aeternitate Mariam Virginem propensissima singularique intuetur voluntate, "ubi venit plenitudo temporis" (*Galat.* 4, 4), providentiae suae consilium ita ad effectum deduxit, ut quae privilegia, quas praerogativas, liberalitate summa eidem concesserat, eadem perfecto quodam concentu refulgerent. Quodsi summam eiusmodi liberalitatem perfectumque gratiarum concentum Ecclesia semper agnovit ac per saeculorum decursum cotidie magis pervestigavit, nostra tamen aetate privilegium illud

¹ The numeration of the paragraphs is an editorial responsibility.

corporeae in Caelum Assumptionis Deiparae Virginis Mariae clariore luce profecto enituit.

4. Quod quidem privilegium, cum Decessor Noster imm. mem. Pius IX almae Dei Parentis immaculatae conceptionis dogma sollemniter sanxit, tum novo quodam fulgore illuxit. Arctissime enim haec duo privilegia inter se conectuntur. Christus quidem peccatum et mortem propria sua morte superavit; et qui per baptismum superno modo iterum generatus est, per eundem Christum peccatum et mortem vicit. Attamen plenum de morte victoriae effectum Deus generali lege iustis conferre non vult, nisi cum finis temporum advenerit. Itaque iustorum etiam corpora post mortem resolvuntur, ac novissimo tandem die cum sua cuiusque gloriosa anima coniungentur.

5. Veruntamen ex generali eiusmodi lege Beatam Virginem Mariam Deus exemptam voluit. Quae quidem, singulari prorsus privilegio, immaculata conceptione sua peccatum devicit, atque adeo legi illi permanendi in sepulcri corruptione obnoxia non fuit, neque corporis sui redemptionem usque in finem temporum expectare debuit.

6. Ideo cum sollemniter sancitum fuit Deiparam Virginem Mariam hereditaria labe immunem inde ab origine fuisse, tum christifidelium animi incensiore quadam spe permoti fuere, futurum ut a supremo Ecclesiae Magisterio dogma quoque corporeae Assumptionis Mariae Virginis in Caelum quamprimum definiretur.

7. Siquidem cernere fuit non modo singulos christifideles, sed eos quoque, qui Nationum vel ecclesiasticarum provinciarum quasi personam gererent, ac vel etiam non paucos Concilii Vaticani Patres hoc instanter ab Apostolica Sede postulare.

8. Decursu autem temporum huiusmodi postulationes ac vota, nedum remitterent, cotidie magis et numero et instantia succrevire. Etenim pia habitae sunt, hac de causa, precum contentiones; studia hac super re a pluribus eximiisque theologis vel privatim, vel in publicis ecclesiasticis Athenaeis et in ceteris scholis sacris disciplinis tradendis alacriter impenseque provecta; Conventus Mariales multis in catholici orbis partibus vel ex una tantum, vel ex pluribus Nationibus celebrati. Quae quidem studia pervestigationsque maiore in luce posuere in christianae fidei deposito, Ecclesiae concredito, dogma quoque contineri Assumptionis Mariae Virginis in Caelum; ac plerumque inde consecutae sunt postulationes, quibus ab Apostolica Sede suppliciter efflagitabatur, ut haec veritas sollemniter definiretur.

9. Hoc pio certamine christifideles miro quodam modo coniuncti

fuere cum suis sacris Antistitibus; qui quidem eiusdem generis petitiones, numero profecto spectabiles, ad hanc divi Petri Cathedram miserunt. Propterea, cum ad Summi Pontificatus solum evecti fuimus, supplicationes eiusmodi ad milia bene multa ex quavis terrarum orbis parte et ex quovis civium ordine, ex Dilectis nempe Filiis Nostris Sacri Collegii Cardinalibus, ex Venerabilibus Fratribus Archiepiscopis et Episcopis, ex Dioecesibus, atque ex paroeciis ad hanc Apostolicam Sedem iam delatae erant.

10. Quamobrem, dum impensas ad Deum admovimus preces, ut ad gravissimam hanc causam decernendam lumen Sancti Spiritus menti Nostrae impertiretur, peculiaries edidimus normas, quibus iussimus ut collatis viribus severiora hac de re inirentur studia; atque interea petitiones omnes colligerentur accurateque perpenderentur, quae inde a Decessore Nostro fel. rec. Pio IX ad nostra usque tempora de Assumptione Beatae Mariae Virginis in Caelum ad Apostolicam hanc Sedem missae fuissent (*Petitiones de Assumptione corporea B. Virginis Mariae in caelum definienda ad S. Sedem delatae*; 2 vol., Typis Polyglottis Vaticanis, 1942).

11. Cum vero tanti momenti tantaeque gravitatis causa ageretur, opportunum duximus Venerabiles omnes in Episcopatu Fratres directo atque ex auctoritate rogare ut mentem cuiusque suam conceptis verbis Nobis aperire vellent. Quapropter die 1 mensis Mai, anno MDCCCXXXVI, Nostras ad eos dedimus Litteras "Deiparae Virginis Mariae", in quibus haec habebantur: "An vos, Venerabiles Fratres, pro eximia vestra sapientia et prudentia censeatis: Assumptionem corpoream Beatissimae Virginis tamquam dogma fidei proponi et definiri posse, et an id cum clero et populo vestro exoptetis".

12. Ii autem quos "Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei" (*Act.* 20, 28), ad utramque quaestionem quod attinet, unanimia fere voce assentientes responderunt. Haec "singularis catholicorum Antistitum et fidelium conspiratio" (*Bulla Ineffabilis Deus, Acta Pii IX, p. I, vol. I, p. 615*), qui Dei Matris autumant corpoream in Caelum Assumptionem ut fidei dogma definiri posse, cum concordem Nobis praebeat ordinarii Ecclesiae Magisterii doctrinam concordemque christiani populi fidem—quam idem Magisterium sustinet ac dirigit—idcirco per semet ipsam ac ratione omnino certa ab omnibusque erroribus immuni manifestat eiusmodi privilegium veritatem esse a Deo revelatam in eoque contentam divino deposito, quod Christus tradidit Sponsae suae fideliter custodiendum et infallibiliter declarandum (Cfr. Conc. Vat. *De fide catholica*, cap. 4). Quod profecto Ecclesiae Magis-

terium non quidem industria mere humana, sed praesidio Spiritus veritatis (Cfr. *Io.* 14, 26), atque adeo sine ullo prorsus errore, demandato sibi munere fungitur revelatas adservandi veritates omne per aevum puras et integras; quamobrem eas intaminatas tradit, eisdem adiciens nihil, nihil ab iisdem detrahens. "Neque enim—ut Concilium Vaticanum docet—Petri successoribus Spiritus Sanctus promissus est ut, eo revelante, novam doctrinam patefacere, sed ut, eo assistente, traditam per Apostolos revelationem seu fidei depositum sancte custodirent et fideliter exponerent" (Conc. Vat. Const. *De Ecclesia Christi*, cap. 4). Itaque ex ordinarii Ecclesiae Magisterii universali consensu certum ac firmum sumitur argumentum, quo comprobatur corpoream Beatae Mariae Virginis in Caelum Assumptionem—quam quidem, quoad caelestem ipsam "glorificationem" virginalis corporis almae Dei Matris, nulla humanae mentis facultas naturalibus suis viribus cognoscere poterat—veritatem esse a Deo revelatam, ideoque ab omnibus Ecclesiae filiis firmiter fideliterque credendam. Nam, ut idem Concilium Vaticanum asseverat: "Fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab Ecclesia sive sollemni iudicio, sive ordinario et universali Magisterio tamquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur" (*De fide catholica*, cap. 3).

13. Communis huius fidei Ecclesiae varia inde a remotis temporibus per saeculorum decursum manifestantur testimonia, indicia atque vestigia; eademque fides luculentiores in dies lumine panditur.

14. Siquidem christifideles, suorum Pastorum institutione ac ductu, a Sacris Litteris didicere Virginem Mariam, per terrestrem suam peregrinationem, vitam egisse sollicitudinibus, angustis, doloribus affectam; ac praeterea id evenisse, quod sanctissimus senex Simeon cecinerat, acutissimum nempe gladium cor eius transverberasse ad Divini sui Nati crucem nostrique Redemptoris. Parique modo haud difficile iisdem fuit assentiri magnam etiam Dei Matrem, quemadmodum iam Unigenam suum, ex hac vita decessisse. Hoc tamen minime prohibuit quominus palam crederent ac profiterentur sacrum eius corpus sepulcri corruptioni obnoxium fuisse numquam, numquam augustum illud Divini Verbi tabernaculum in tabem, in cinerem resolutum fuisse. Quin immo, divina collustrati gratia pietateque erga eam permoti, quae Dei Parens est suavissimaque Mater nostra, clariore cotidie luce mirabilem illam privilegiorum concordiam ac cohaerentiam contemplati sunt, quae Providentissimus Deus almae huic Redemptoris nostri sociae impertiit, et quae talem attingere celsissimum verticem, qualem praeter

ipsam nemo a Deo creatus, excepta humana Iesu Christi natura, assecutus est umquam.

15. Hanc eandem fidem innumera illa templa manifesto testantur, quae in honorem Mariae Virginis Caelo receptae Deo dicata fuere; itemque sacrae illae imagines inibi christifidelium venerationi propositae, quae singularem eiusmodi Beatae Virginis triumphum ante omnium oculos efferunt. Urbes praeterea, dioeceses ac regiones peculiari tutelae ac patrocinio Deiparae Virginis ad Caelum evectae fuere concreditae; parique modo religiosa Instituta, probante Ecclesia, excitata sunt, quae quidem ex eiusmodi privilegio nomen accipiunt. Neque silentio praetereundum est in mariali rosario, cuius recitationem Apostolica haec Sedes tantopere commendat, unum haberi mysterium, pia meditationi propositum, quod, ut omnes norunt, de Assumptione agit Beatae Virginis in Caelum.

16. Universali autem ac splendidiore modo haec sacrorum Pastorum ac christifidelium fides tum manifestatur, cum inde ab antiquis temporibus in Orientis et in Occidentis regionibus liturgica sollemnia hac de causa celebrantur; hinc enim Sancti Ecclesiae Patres atque Doctores lucem haurire numquam praetermisere, quandoquidem, ut omnibus in comperto est, sacra Liturgia, "cum sit etiam veritatum caelestium professio, quae supremo Ecclesiae Magisterio subicitur, argumenta ac testimonia suppeditare potest, non parvi quidem momenti, ad peculiare decernendum christianae doctrinae caput" (Litt. Enc. *Mediator Dei*, A.A.S., Vol. XXXIX, p. 541).

17. In liturgicis libris, qui festum referunt vel *Dormitionis*, vel *Assumptionis Sanctae Mariae*, dictiones habentur, quae concordii quodam modo testantur, cum Deipara Virgo ex hoc terrestri exilio ad superna pertransiit, sacro eius corpori ex Providentis Dei consilio ea contigisse, quae cum Incarnati Verbi Matris dignitate consentanea essent cum ceterisque privilegiis eidem impertitis. Haec, ut praeclaro utamur exemplo, in *Sacramentario* asseverantur, quod Decessor Noster imm. mem. Hadrianus I ad Imperatorem misit Carolum Magnum. In eo enim haec habentur: "Veneranda nobis, Domine, huius est diei festivitas, in qua sancta Dei Genitrix mortem subiit temporalem, nec tamen mortis nexibus deprimi potuit, quae Filium tuum Dominum nostrum de se genuit incarnatum" (*Sacramentarium Gregorianum*).

18. Quod vero heic verborum illa temperantia indicatur, qua Romana Liturgia uti solet, in ceteris vel orientalis, vel occidentalis antiquae Liturgiae voluminibus luculentius ac fusius declaratur. *Sacramentarium Gallicanum*, ut unum in exemplum afferamus, hoc

Mariae privilegium dicit "inexplicabile sacramentum, tanto magis praeconabile, quanto est inter homines assumptione Virginis singulare". Atque in Byzantina Liturgia corporea Mariae Virginis Assumptio non modo cum Dei Matris dignitate etiam atque etiam conecitur, sed cum aliis quoque privilegiis, peculiarique ratione cum virginea eius maternitate, singulari Providentis Dei consilio praestituta: "Tibi rex rerum omnium Deus ea, quae supra naturam sunt, tribuit; sicut enim in partu te virginem custodivit, sic et in sepulcro corpus tuum incorruptum servavit, et per divinam translationem conglorificavit" (*Menaei totius anni*).

19. Quod autem Apostolica Sedes, quae muneris est heres, Apostolorum Principi concrediti, in fide confirmandi fratres (Cfr. *Luc.* 22, 32), sollemniorum in dies auctoritate sua eiusmodi celebrationem reddidit, id profecto studiosam christifidelium mentem efficaciter permovit ad magis cotidie magisque huius commemorati mysterii gravitatem considerandam. Itaque Assumptionis festum ex illo honoris gradu, quem in ceteris Marialibus celebrationibus inde ab initio obtinuerat, ad sollemniorum celebrationum ordinem totius liturgici cycli evectum fuit. Ac Decessor Noster S. Sergius I, cum Litaniam seu Processionem Stationalem, quae dicitur, in quattuor Marialibus celebrationibus habendas praescriberet, una simul festum *Natiuitatis, Annuntiationis, Purificationis* ac *Dormitionis* Mariae Virginis enumerat (*Liber Pontificalis*). Deinceps vero S. Leo IV festum, quod iam titulo Assumptionis Beatae Genetricis Dei celebrabatur, sollemniorum etiam modo recolendum curavit, cum pervigilium ante habendum iuberet, postea vero supplicationes in octavum diem; atque ipsemet, hanc opportunitatem libenter nactus, ingenti stipatus multitudine sollemnes eiusmodi celebrationes participare voluit (*Ibid.*). Ac praeterea pridie huius diei sacrum habendum ieiunium iam antiquitus fuisse praeceptum, ex iis omnino patet, quae Decessor Noster S. Nicolaus I testatur, cum de praecipuis ieiuniis agit, "quae . . . sancta Romana suscepit antiquitus et tenet Ecclesia" (*Responsa Nicolai Papae I ad consulta Bulgarorum*).

20. Quandoquidem vero Ecclesiae Liturgia catholicam non gignit fidem, sed eam potius consequitur, ex eaque, ut ex arbore fructus sacri cultus ritus proferuntur, idcirco Sancti Patres magique Doctores in homiliis orationibusque, quas hoc festo die ad populum habuere, non hinc veluti ex primo fonte, eiusmodi doctrinam hauserunt, sed de ea potius, utpote christifidelibus iam nota atque accepta, locuti sunt; eandem luculentius declararunt; eius sensum atque rem altioribus rationibus proposuere, id praesertim in clariore collocantes luce, quod liturgici libri saepenumero presse breviterque attigerant: hoc nempe festo non solummodo Beatae

Virginis Mariae nullam habitam esse exanimis corporis corruptionem commemorari, sed eius etiam ex morte deportatum triumphum, eiusque caelestem "glorificationem", ad Unigenae sui exemplum Iesu Christi.

21. Itaque S. Ioannes Damascenus, qui prae ceteris eximius traditae huius veritatis praeco exstat, corpoream almae Dei Matris Assumptionem cum allis eius dotibus ac privilegiis comparans, haec vehementi eloquentia edicit: "Oportebat eam, quae in partu illaesam servaverat virginitatem, suum corpus sine ulla corruptione etiam post mortem conservare. Oportebat eam, quae Creatorem ut puerum in sinu gestaverat, in divinis tabernaculis commorari. Oportebat sponsam, quam Pater desponsaverat, in thalamis caelestibus habitare. Oportebat eam, quae Filium suum in cruce conspexerat, et, quem pariendo effugerat doloris gladium, pectore exceperat, ipsum Patri considentem contemplari. Oportebat Dei Matrem ea, quae Filii sunt, possidere et ab omni creatura tamquam Dei Matrem et ancillam excoli" (S. Ioan. Damasc. *Encomium in Dormitionem Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae*, hom. II, 14; Cfr. etiam ibid. n. 3).

22. Haec quidem S. Ioannis Damasceni vox aliorum vocibus, eandem asseverantium doctrinam, fideliter respondet. Etenim haud minus clarae accurataeque dictiones in orationibus illis inveniuntur, quas vel superioris vel eiusdem aevi Patres, per occasionem plerumque huius festi, habuere. Itaque, ut aliis utamur exemplis, S. Germanus Constantinopolitanus corpus Deiparae Virginis Mariae incorruptum fuisse et ad Caelum evectum non modo cum divina eius maternitate consentaneum putabat, sed etiam cum peculiari sanctitate eiusdem virginalis corporis: "Tu, secundum quod scriptum est, 'in pulchritudine' appares; et corpus tuum virginale totum sanctum est, totum castum, totum Dei domicilium; ita ut ex hoc etiam a resolutione in pulverem deinceps sit alienum; immutatum quidem, quatenus humanum, ad excelsam incorruptibilitatis vitam; idem vero vivum atque praegloriosum, incolume atque perfectae vitae particeps" (S. Germ. Const. *In Sanctae Dei Genitricis Dormitionem*, sermo I). Alius vero antiquissimus scriptor asseverat: "Igitur ut gloriosissima Mater Christi Salvatoris nostri Dei, vitae et immortalitatis largitoris, ab ipso vivificatur, in aeternum concorporea in incorruptibilitate, qui illam a sepulcro suscitavit et ad seipsum assumpsit, ut ipse solus novit" (*Encomium in Dormitionem Sanctissimae Dominae nostrae Deiparae semperque Virginis Mariae* [S. Modesto Hierosol. attributum], n. 14).

23. Cum autem hoc liturgicum festum latius in dies impensoreque pietate celebraretur, Ecclesiae Antistites ac sacri oratores,

crebriore usque numero, officii sui esse duxerunt aperte ac nitide explanare mysterium, quod eodem hoc festo recolitur, atque edicere illud esse cum ceteris revelatis veritatibus coniunctissimum.

24. In scholasticis theologis non defuere qui, cum in veritates divinitus revelatas altius introspicere vellent, atque illum praebere cuperent concentum, qui inter rationem theologicam, quae dicitur, ac catholicam intercedit fidem, animadvertendum putarent hoc Mariae Virginis Assumptionis privilegium cum divinis veritatibus miro quodam modo concordare, per Sacras Litteras nobis traditis.

25. Cum hinc ratiocinando proficiscerentur, varia protulere argumenta, quibus mariale eiusmodi privilegium illustrarent, quorum quidem argumentorum quasi primum elementum hoc esse asseverabant, Iesum Christum nempe, pro sua erga Matrem pietate, eam voluisse ad Caelum assumptam; eorundem vero argumentorum vim incomparabili inniti dignitate eius divinae maternitatis atque etiam eorum omnium munerum, quae eam consequuntur; quae quidem sunt insignis eius sanctitas, omnium hominum angelorumque sanctitudinem exsuperans; intima Mariae cum Filio suo coniunctio; ac praecipuae illius dilectionis affectus, qua Filius dignissimam Matrem suam prosequebatur.

26. Ac saepenumero theologi occurrunt oratoresque sacri, qui Sanctorum Patrum vestigiis insistentes (Cfr. S. Ioan. Damasc. *Encomium in Dormitionem Dei Genitricis semperque Virginis Mariae*, hom. II, 2, 11; *Encomium in Dormitionem* [S. Modesto Hierosol. attributum]) ut suam illustrent Assumptionis fidem, quadam usi libertate, eventus ac verba referunt, quae a Sacris Litteris mutantur. Itaque, ut nonnulla tantum memoremus, quae hac de re saepius usurpantur, sunt qui Psaltes sententiam inducant: "Surge, Domine, in requiem tuam, tu et Arca sanctificationis tuae" (Ps. 131, 8); atque *Arcam foederis*, incorruptibili ligno instructam atque in Dei templo positam, quasi imaginem cernant purissimi Mariae Virginis corporis, ab omni sepulcri corruptione servati immunis, atque ad tantam in Caelo gloriam evecti. Parique modo, hac de re agentes, Reginam describunt in regiam Caelorum aulam per triumphum ingredientem ac dextero Divini Redemptoris assidentem lateri (Ps. 44, 10, 14-16); itemque Canticorum Sponsam inducunt, "quae ascendit per desertum, sicut virgula fumi ex aromatibus myrrae et thuris", ut corona redimiatur (Cant. 3, 6; cfr. 4, 8; 6, 9). Quae quidem ab iisdem veluti imagines proponuntur caelestis illius Reginae, caelestisque Sponsae, quae una cum Divino Sponso ad Caelorum aulam evehitur.

27. Ac praterea scholastici doctores non modo in variis Veteris Testamenti figuris, sed in illa etiam Muliere amicta sole, quam Ioannes Apostolus in insula Patmo (*Apoc.* 12, 1 sq.) contemplatus

est, Assumptionem Deiparae Virginis significatam viderunt. Item ex Novi Testamenti locis haec verba peculiari cura considerationi proposuere suae: "Ave, gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus" (*Luc. 1, 28*), cum in Assumptionis mysterio complementum cernerent plenissimae illius gratiae, Beatae Virgini impertitae, singularemque benedictionem maledictioni Hevae adversantem.

28. Eam ob rem, sub Scholasticae Theologiae initio vir piissimus Amedeus Lausannensis Episcopus affirmat Mariae Virginis carnem incorruptam permansisse;—neque enim credi fas est corpus eius vidisse corruptionem—cum revera animae suae iterum coniunctum fuerit, atque una cum ea in caelesti aula excelsa redimitum gloria. "Erat namque plena gratia et in mulieribus benedicta (*Luc. 1, 28*). Deum verum de Deo vero sola meruit concipere, quem virgo peperit, virgo lactavit, fovens in gremio, eique in omnibus almo ministravit obsequio" (Amedeus Lausannensis. *De Beatae Virginis obitu, Assumptione in Caelum, exaltatione ad Filii dexteram*).

29. In sacris vero scriptoribus, qui eo tempore Divinarum Litterarum sententiis variisque similitudinibus seu analogiis usi, Assumptionis doctrinam, quae pie credebatur, illustrarunt ac confirmarunt, peculiarem locum obtinet Doctor Evangelicus S. Antonius Patavinus. Is enim, festo Assumptionis die, haec Isaiae prophetae verba interpretatus: "locum pedum meorum glorificabo" (*Is. 60, 13*), modo certo asseveravit a Divino Redemptore Matrem suam dilectissimam, ex qua humanam sumpserat carnem, summa ornatam fuisse gloria. "Per hoc aperte habes—ita ait—quod Beata Virgo in corpore, quo fuit locus pedum Domini, est assumpta". Quamobrem sacer Psaltes scribit: "Exsurge, Domine, in requiem tuam, tu et Arca sanctificationis tuae". Quemadmodum, ita ipse asserit. Iesus Christus ex triumphata morte resurrexit atque ad dexteram sui Patris ascendit, ita pariter "surrexit et Arca sanctificationis suae, cum in hac die Virgo Mater ad aethereum thalamum est assumpta" (S. Antonius Patav. *Sermones dominicales et in solemnitatibus. In Assumptione S. Mariae Virginis sermo*).

30. Cum autem, media aetate. Theologia Scholastica maxime floreret, S. Albertus Magnus, variis ad rem probandam collatis argumentis, quae vel Sacris Litteris, vel sententiis a maioribus traditis, vel denique Liturgia rationeque theologica, quae dicitur innuntur, ita concludit: "His rationibus et auctoritatibus et multis aliis manifestum est, quod Beatissima Dei Mater in corpore et anima super choros Angelorum est assumpta. Et hoc modis omnibus credimus esse verum" (S. Albertus Magnus, *Mariale sive quaestiones super Evang. "Missus est"* q. 132). In oratione vero, quam die Annuntiationi sacro Beatae Mariae Virginis habuit, haec Angeli salu-

tantis verba explanans: "Ave, gratia plena . . .", Doctor Universalis, dum Hevae Sanctissimam Virginem comparat, hanc clare significanterque asseverat quadruplici illa maledictione fuisse immunem, cui Heva obnoxia fuit (Idem, *Sermones de sanctis*, sermo 15: *In Annuntiatione B. Mariae*; cfr. etiam *Mariale*, q. 132).

31. Doctor Angelicus, insignis magistri sui vestigia premens, quamvis dedita opera eiusmodi quaestionem numquam agitaverit, quotiescumque tamen per occasionem eam attingit, una cum Catholica Ecclesia constanter retinet cum Mariae anima eius corpus in Caelum fuisse assumptum (Cfr. *Summa Theol.* 3, q. 27, a. 1 c.; ibid. q. 83, a. 5 ad 8; *Expositio salutationis angelicae*; *In symb. Apostolorum expositio*, art. 5; *In IV Sent.* D. 12, q. 1, art. 3, sol. 3; D. 43, q. 1, art. 3, sol. 1 et 2).

32. Eandem sententiam amplectitur, in multis aliis, Doctor Seraphicus, qui quidem pro certo omnino habet, quemadmodum Deus Mariam Sanctissimam, sive concipientem, sive parientem, virginalis pudoris virginalisque integritatis violatione immunem servavit, sic minime permisisse ut eius corpus in tabernaculum, in cinerem resolveretur (Cfr. S. Bonaventura, *De Nativitate B. Mariae Virginis*, sermo 5). Haec Sacrae Scripturae verba interpretans, eademque sensu quodam accommodato Beatae Virgini tribuens: "Quae est ista, quae ascendit de deserto, deliciis affluens, innixa super dilectum suum" (*Cant.* 8, 5) ita arguit: "Et hinc constare potest quod corporaliter ibi est . . . Cum enim . . . beatitudo non esset consummata nisi personaliter ibi esset, et persona non sit anima, sed coniunctum, patet quod secundum coniunctum, id est corpus et animam, ibi est: alioquin consummatam non haberet fruitionem" (S. Bonaventura, *De Assumptione B. Mariae Virginis*, sermo 1).

33. Sera autem Scholasticae Theologiae aetate, hoc est saeculo xv, S. Bernardinus Senensis ea omnia, quae medii aevi theologi hac super causa edixerant ac disceptaverant, summatim colligens ac diligenter retractans, non satis habuit praecipuas eorum referre considerationes, quas superioris temporis doctores iam proposuerant, sed alias etiam adiecit. Similitudo nempe divinae Matris divinique Filii, ad animi corporisque nobilitatem dignitatemque quod attinet—ob quam quidem similitudinem ne cogitare quidem possumus caelestem Reginam a caelesti Rege separari—omnino postulat ut Maria "esse non debeat, nisi ubi est Christus" (S. Bernardinus Senensis. *In Assumptione B. M. Virginis*, sermo 2); ac praeterea rationi congruens et consentaneum est, quemadmodum hominis, ita etiam mulieris animam ac corpus sempiternam iam gloriam in Caelo assecuta esse; ac denique idcirco quod numquam Ecclesia Beatae Virginis exuvias requisivit ac populi cultui proposuit, argu-

mentum praebetur, quod "quasi sensibile experimentum" (Idem, l. c.) referri potest.

34. Recentioribus vero temporibus, quas supra rettulimus, Sanctorum Patrum Doctorumque sententiae communi in usu fuere. Consensum christianorum amplectens, a superioribus aetatibus traditum, S. Robertus Bellarminus exclamavit: "Et quis, obsecro, credere posset, arcam sanctitatis, domicilium Verbi, templum Spiritus Sancti corruisse? Exhorret plane animus meus vel cogitare carnem illam virgineam, quae Deum genuit, peperit, aluit, gestavit, vel in cinerem esse conversam, vel in escam vermibus traditam" (S. Robertus Bellarminus, *Conciones habitae Lovanii*, concio, 40: *De Assumptione B. Mariae Virginis*).

35. Parique modo S. Franciscus Salesius, postquam asseveravit dubitare fas non esse Iesum Christum perfectissimo modo divinum mandatum, quo filii iubentur proprios honorare parentes, ad rem deduxisse, hanc sibi quaestionem proponit: "Quinam filius, si posset, matrem suam ad vitam non revocaret, atque eam post mortem in Paradisum non adduceret?" (*Oeuvres de St. François de Sales*, Sermon autographe pour la fête de l'Assomption). Ac S. Alphonsus scribit: "Iesus Mariae corpus post mortem corrumpi noluit, cum in suum dedecus redundaret virgineam eius carnem in tabem redigi, ex qua suam ipsemet carnem assumpserat" (S. Alfonso M. de' Liguori, *Le glorie di Maria*, parte 2, disc. 1).

36. Cum vero mysterium, quod hoc festo celebratur, iam in sua luce positum esset, haud defuere doctores, qui, potius quam de theologicis argumentis agerent, quibus demonstraretur conveniens omnino ac consentaneum esse corpoream credere Beatae Mariae Virginis in Caelum Assumptionem, mentem animumque suum ad ipsam converterent Ecclesiae fidem, mysticae Christi Sponsae non habentis maculam aut rugam (Cfr. *Eph.* 5, 27) quae quidem ab Apostolo nuncupatur "columna et firmamentum veritatis" (1 *Tim.* 3, 15); atque communi hac fide innixi, contrariam sententiam temerariam putarent, ne dicamus haereticam. Siquidem, ut alii non pauci, S. Petrus Canisius, postquam declaravit ipsum Assumptionis vocabulum non modo animae, sed corporis etiam "glorificationem" significare, atque Ecclesiam multis iam saeculis hoc mariale Assumptionis mysterium venerari ac celebrare sollemniter, haec animadvertit: "Quae sententia iam saeculis aliquot obtinet, ac piorum animis infixata totique Ecclesiae sic commendata est, ut qui Mariae corpus in Caelum negant assumptum, ne patienter quidem audiantur, sed velut nimium contentiosi, aut prorsus temerarii, et haeretico magis quam catholico spiritu imbuti homines passim exsibilentur" (S. Petrus Canisius, *De Maria Virgine*).

37. Eodem tempore Doctor Eximius, cum hanc de mariologia profiteretur normam, nempe "mysteria gratiae, quae Deus in Virgine operatus est, non esse ordinariis legibus metienda, sed divina omnipotentia, supposita rei decentia, absque ulla Scripturarum contradictione aut repugnantia" (Suarez F. *In tertiam partem D. Thomae*, quaest. 27, art. 2, disp. 3, sec. 5, n. 31), universae Ecclesiae communi fretus fide, ad Assumptionis mysterium quod attinet, concludere poterat hoc idem mysterium eadem animi firmitate credendum esse, ac Immaculatam Conceptionem B. Virginis; iamque tum autumabat veritates eiusmodi definiri posse.

38. Haec omnia Sanctorum Patrum ac theologorum argumenta considerationesque Sacris Litteris, tamquam ultimo fundamento, nituntur; quae quidem almam Dei Matrem nobis veluti ante oculos proponunt divino Filio suo coniunctissimam, eiusque semper participantem sortem. Quamobrem quasi impossibile videtur eam cernere, quae Christum concepit, peperit, suo lacte aluit, eumque inter ulnas habuit pectorique obstrinxit suo, ab eodem post terrestrem hanc vitam, etsi non anima, corpore tamen separatam. Cum Redemptor noster Mariae Filius sit, haud poterat profecto, utpote divinae legis observator perfectissimus, praeter Aeternum Patrem, Matrem quoque suam dilectissimam non honorare. Atqui cum eam posset tam magno honore exornare, ut eam a sepulcri corruptione servaret incolumem, id reapse fecisse credendum est.

39. Maxime autem illud memorandum est inde a saeculo II, Mariam Virginem a Sanctis Patribus veluti novam Hevam proponi novo Adae, etsi subiectam, arctissime coniunctam in certamine illo adversus inferorum hostem, quod, quemadmodum in protoevangelio (*Gen.* 3, 15) praesignificatur, ad plenissimam deventurum erat victoriam de peccato ac de morte, quae semper in gentium Apostoli scriptis inter se copulantur (Cfr. *Rom.* cap. 5 et 6; *1 Cor.* 15, 21-26; 54-57). Quamobrem, sicut gloriosa Christi anastasis essentialis pars fuit ac postremum huius victoriae tropaeum, ita Beatae Virginis commune cum Filio suo certamen virginiae corporis "glorificatione" concludendum erat; ut enim idem Apostolus, ait, "cum . . . mortale hoc induerit immortalitatem, tunc fiet sermo, qui scriptus est; absorpta est mors in victoria" (*1 Cor.* 15, 54).

40. Idcirco augusta Dei Mater, Iesu Christo, inde ab omni aeternitate, "uno eodemque decreto" (Bulla *Ineffabilis Deus*, 1. c. p. 599) praedestinationis, arcano modo coniuncta, immaculata in suo conceptu, in divina maternitate sua integerrima virgo, generosa Divini Redemptoris socia, qui plenum de peccato eiusque consecrariis deportavit triumphum, id tandem assecuta est, quasi supremam suorum privilegiorum coronam, ut a sepulcri corruptione ser-

varetur immunis, utque, quemadmodum iam Filius suus, devicta morte, corpore et anima ad supernam Caeli gloriam eveheretur, ubi Regina refulgeret ad eiusdem sui Filii dexteram, immortalis saeculorum Regis (Cfr. 1 *Tim.* 1, 17).

41. Quoniam igitur universa Ecclesia, in qua viget Veritatis Spiritus, qui quidem eam ad revelatarum perficiendam veritatum cognitionem infallibiliter dirigit, multipliciter per saeculorum decursum suam fidem manifestavit, et quoniam universi terrarum orbis Episcopi prope unanima consensione petunt, ut tamquam divinae et catholicae fidei dogma definiatur veritas corporeae Assumptionis Beatissimae Virginis Mariae in Caelum—quae veritas Sacris Litteris innititur, christifidelium animis penitus est insita, ecclesiastico cultu inde ab antiquissimis temporibus comprobata, ceteris revelatis veritatibus summe consona, theologorum studio, scientia ac sapientia splendide explicata et declarata—momentum Providentis Dei consilio praestitutum iam advenisse putamus, quo insigne eiusmodi Mariae Virginis privilegium sollemniter renuntiemus.

42. Nos, qui Pontificatum Nostrum peculiari Sanctissimae Virginis patrocinio concredidimus, ad quam quidem in tot tristissimarum rerum vicibus confugimus, Nos, qui Immaculato eius Cordi universum hominum genus publico ritu sacravimus, eiusque praesidium validissimum iterum atque iterum experti sumus, fore omnino confidimus ut sollemnis haec Assumptionis pronuntiatio ac definitio haud parum ad humanae consortionis profectum conferat, cum in Sanctissimae Trinitatis gloriam vertat, cui Deipara Virgo singularibus devincitur vinculis. Futurum enim sperandum est ut christifideles omnes ad impensiolem erga caelestem Matrem pietatem excitentur; utque eorum omnium animi, qui christiano gloriantur nomine, ad desiderium moveantur Mystici Iesu Christi Corporis participandae unitatis, suique erga illam augendi amoris, quae in omnia eiusdem augusti Corporis membra maternum gerit animum. Itemque sperandum est ut gloriosa meditantibus Mariae exempla magis magisque persuasum sit quantum valeat hominum vita, si Caelestis Patris voluntati exsequendae omnino sit dedita ac ceterorum omnium procurando bono; ut, dum "materialismi" commenta et quae inde oritur morum corruptio, virtutis lumina submergere minantur, hominumque, excitatis dimicationibus, perdere vitas, praeclarissimo hoc modo ante omnium oculos plena in luce ponatur ad quam excelsam metam animus corpusque nostrum destinantur; ut denique fides corporeae Assumptionis Mariae in Caelum nostrae etiam resurrectionis fidem firmiorem efficiat, actuosiorem reddat.

43. Quod autem hoc sollemne eventum in Sacrum, qui vertitur,

Annum Providentis Dei consilio incidit, Nobis laetissimum est; ita enim Nobis licet, dum Iubilaeum Maximum celebratur, fulgenti hac gemma Deiparae Virginis frontem exornare, ac monumentum relinquere aere perennius incensissimae Nostrae in Dei Matrem pietatis.

44. Quapropter, postquam supplices etiam atque etiam ad Deum admovimus preces, ac Veritatis Spiritus lumen invocavimus, ad Omnipotentis Dei gloriam, qui peculiarem benevolentiam suam Mariae Virgini dilargitus est, ad sui Filii honorem, immortalis saeculorum Regis ac peccati mortisque victoris, ad eiusdem augustae Matris augendam gloriam et ad totius Ecclesiae gaudium exultationemque, auctoritate Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra pronuntiamus, declaramus et definimus divinitus revelatum dogma esse: Immaculatam Deiparam semper Virginem Mariam, expleto terrestres vitae cursu, fuisse corpore et anima ad caelestem gloriam assumptam.

45. Quamobrem, si quis, quod Deus avertat, id vel negare, vel in dubium vocare voluntarie ausus fuerit, quod a Nobis definitum est, noverit se a divina ac catholica fide prorsus defecisse.

46. Ut autem ad universalis Ecclesiae notitiam haec Nostra corporeae Mariae Virginis in Caelum Assumptionis definitio deducatur, has Apostolicas Nostras Litteras ad perpetuam rei memoriam exstare volumus; mandantes ut harum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides ab omnibus habeatur, quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

47. Nulli ergo hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrae declarationis, pronuntiationis ac definitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario adversari et contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei ac Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

48. Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum anno Iubilaei Maximi millesimo nongentesimo quinquagesimo, die prima mensis Novembris, in festo omnium Sanctorum, Pontificatus Nostri anno duodecimo.

Ego PIUS

Catholicae Ecclesiae Episcopus ita definiendo subscripsi

BOOK REVIEWS

A Treasury of Russian Spirituality. Compiled and edited by G. P. Fedotov. (Sheed & Ward. 25s. net.)

THE first volume of Professor Fedotov's work on the *Russian Religious Mind* (1946) dealt with the early, Kievan, period of his country's history. This new book is related but independent: it is not a collection of *pièces justificatives* for the earlier one, but covers a thousand years, down to our own time. There are 500 pages in it, and the book is no mere anthology—it is a small library. To show the richness and interest of its contents I cannot do better than detail them.

They comprise Nestor's life of St Theodosius Pechersky (*d.* 1074), co-founder of the Monastery of the Caves at Kiev; the life of the most loved of all Russian saints, Sergius of Radonezh (*d.* 1392), by his disciple Epiphanius; biographical fragments and writings of three holy monks canonized by the Russian Orthodox Church, Nilus Sorsky (*d.* 1508), Bishop Tychon of Voronezh (*d.* 1783), from whom Dostoevsky's Father Zosima in *The Brothers Karamazov* was partly drawn, and Seraphim of Sarov (*d.* 1833), whose life was more like that of the desert in the fourth century than Europe in the nineteenth; the autobiography of the Archpriest Avakkum, burned at the stake in 1682 during the persecution of the Old Believers; the conversations of the anonymous mid-nineteenth-century lay Pilgrim ("wanderer"); *My Life in Christ* by the parish priest and "revivalist", Father John of Cronstadt (*d.* 1908); and extracts from the diary of Father Alexander Yelchaninov, who died an exile in Paris in 1934. Each one of these writings is introduced by several pages by Professor Fedotov, and he writes a short preface to the whole. All the translations except two have been made by Helen Iswolsky, a long and difficult task which she has done exceedingly well.

Looking down the list of contents the English reader may well feel at sea. Yet the curious thing is that less than half of them are appearing in English for the first time. *My Life in Christ* was published some half-century ago by Cassell, and Sergius, Avakkum, Seraphim of Sarov and The Pilgrim have all been translated and published within the past twenty-five years or less. Yet how few of us are acquainted with them, not simply as varied representatives of an ancient Christian tradition and factors in its ecclesiastical history, but also as a refreshing fountain of religious thought and spiritual teaching. Now that through the labours of Professor Fedotov and Miss Iswolsky, and the enterprise of Messrs. Sheed & Ward, these

and other writings are conveniently collected in one book there is less excuse than ever for neglecting them.

A review is no place to attempt a discussion of the many points of importance and interest that this Treasury suggests. Professor Fedotov lets his "contributors" speak for themselves. The element which he most often points out is that of "kenoticism", in the general sense of self-abasement, which is so well dealt with by Mrs Gorodetzky in her *Humiliated Christ in Modern Russian Thought* (1938). But his selection is by no means confined to examples of this "charitable humility and voluntary suffering", which he and others regard as "the most precious and typical, even though not always the dominant, motif of Russian Christianity"; there is, for example, John of Cronstadt, with his "silken cassocks . . . with cordons, stars and crosses", whose popularity seems in a degree to have gone to his head. Here we are far from St Theodosius Pechersky bringing "the virtue of humility to extreme social consequences which suggest, somewhat, the practices of St Francis of Assisi". Or again, the "unmystical" Avakkum who, under whatever provocation, was a rebel against ecclesiastical and civil authority—and was brutally abased accordingly. It has been said of his autobiography that it is "one of the grimmest of Christian documents, and one of the best pieces of unconscious communist propaganda ever written". There was an element in the earlier Russian Christianity which, had it survived in strength, might have helped to prevent Russia from becoming the scene of the "communist experiment": namely, the emphasis on the corporal works of mercy and social activity here exemplified by St Theodosius.

Catholics are often urged to equip themselves with a correct knowledge of the theory and practice of what the U.S.S.R. stands for today. But we ought also to know something of what has been of significance to so many Russians in the past and is—we may well believe—not dead there today. This book of Professor Fedotov can be both a source of knowledge and an occasion of spiritual profit.

DONALD ATTWATER

Le Sacerdoce royal des Fidèles dans la Tradition ancienne et moderne. By Paul Dabin, S.J. Pp. 643. Collection *Museum Lessianum*. (Edition Universelle, S.A., 53 Rue Royale, Brussels. Price 360 Belgian francs.)

THIS posthumous work of the lamented author is a sequel to his *Le Sacerdoce royal des Fidèles dans les Livres saints* (Paris, Bloud, 1941), which we have not had the advantage of examining. Several obser-

variations in the course of the present work indicate that the author had intended to follow it up with other volumes, including a dogmatic treatise, on the same subject. Meanwhile we must be grateful to the editors for having given us this most valuable source-book, where we find evidence for a constant belief in the doctrine of the faithful's kingly priesthood provided by no less than 450 writers, beginning with Minutius Felix and ending with Pope Pius XII in the West, and ranging from the Apostolic Fathers to Oriental writers of the seventeenth century, and also by the earliest liturgies of both East and West. On this evidence the author bases the following thesis: that the morally unanimous consent of Tradition, interpreting Holy Scripture, recognizes in the baptised or the confirmed a certain share, to be understood in a wide though not merely metaphorical sense, of the priestly, prophetic, and kingly office of the Redeemer. In the anointing of the baptised with chrism the Fathers have always seen a symbol of the Christian's incorporation into Christ, who is Priest, Prophet and King. The kingly priesthood receives its perfection in the sacrament of Confirmation, and is to be identified with the sacramental character received in these two sacraments. This share in the priesthood of Christ enables the faithful, as distinct from the unbaptised, and the confirmed, as distinct from those who have not received that sacrament, to participate, for the most part passively but also to some extent actively, in certain acts of divine worship, and also gives rise in them to a number of rights and obligations—always without prejudice to the incommunicable rights that are connected with the powers of order and jurisdiction. There have, it is true, been exaggerations and errors on the subject, but the danger that emphasis on the priesthood of the laity may tend to eliminate the difference between the ordained priest and the layman, so far as sacred powers are concerned, probably exists no longer. In any case, the present Pope has made the situation perfectly clear in his Encyclical *Mediator Dei*. "A certain 'arrogance in the laity'," writes the author, "may have shown itself in our countries in the sphere of *action*, but not in the sphere of the sacraments and the liturgy. . . . The real danger nowadays for Christians is not to think themselves too much priests and too little laity. On the contrary it is to think of themselves as completely worldly and in no way consecrated." A reference is made (p. 46) to the teaching by which Pius XII sets the priesthood of the faithful in its proper perspective as regards the Eucharist, but the Pope's words are, surprisingly, omitted from the list of quotations. Can it be that page 506, which might conveniently have carried some telling quotations from *Mediator Dei*, has by an oversight remained blank?

With such an abundance of sources to work upon, it is to be hoped that one of the Fathers of the Society at Louvain may feel moved to write a full-length treatise in which the dogmatic implications of this interesting doctrine would be amply developed.

De SS. Trinitate—Schema Tractatus. By Ladislaus Lohn, S.J. Pp. 351. (St Mary's College, St Mary's, Kansas, U.S.A. No price.)

THIS is a reprint of a work first published in 1931 by the Gregorian University in Rome, with the necessary corrections and with the addition of a number of bibliographical details. In calling it an outline Father Lohn is too modest; his treatise on the Trinity is much more complete than the majority of the manuals that devote a complete volume to this doctrine, and he is much more generous in his citations from the Fathers than most manualists think it worth while to be. Indeed it is in the patristic treatment of his subject that Father Lohn excels. On the procession of the Word he is especially emphatic in vindicating the constant tradition of the Fathers, East and West, against De Régnon who maintained that the doctrine of the procession of the Son by way of intellect is found first in the East in St Cyril of Alexandria, from whom it was borrowed by St Augustine and by him transmitted to the Western tradition. He is equally thorough in investigating the views of the Eastern Fathers on the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. On the question of the divine relations the author is clear and intelligible—not an easy thing to be—differing from Billot, whom for the most part he follows, in regarding as *minor* the virtual distinction between essence and relation in God, and also in postulating an absolute subsistence as well as the three relative subsistences. Father Lohn agrees with the majority of theologians in rejecting a union of the soul with God which would be in any way proper to the Holy Spirit.

The Eschatology of Saint Jerome. By John P. O'Connell. Pp. x + 199.
De Christo Mediatore Doctrina Sancti Hilarii Pictaviensis. By John J. McMahon. Pp. iii + 134.

Doctrina Sancti Leonis Magni de Christo Restitutore et Sacerdote. By Damasus Mozeris. Pp. ii + 85.

De Sacrificio Coelesti secundum Sanctum Ambrosium. By Edward Fitzgerald. Pp. iii + 90.

De Adumbratione SS. Trinitatis in Vetere Testamento secundum Sanctum Augustinum. By Francis L. Smid. Pp. iv + 88.

(Seminary Maria Laach, Mundelein, Illinois, U.S.A.)

THIS group of patristic studies, submitted as doctorate theses, will be useful to all who are interested in positive theology. Dr O'Connell,

who alone of the five authors writes in English, has chosen what is perhaps the most difficult subject. St Jerome is not a systematic theologian. In his controversial works doctrine is sometimes marred by misplaced emphasis, while for the rest his dogmatic teaching must be gleaned from letters and commentaries on the Scriptures, and in these last the difficulty of discerning the saintly commentator's real view is increased by his disconcerting habit of juxtaposing a number of different interpretations without indicating clearly which is the view he favours. However, he wrote at a time when a number of uncertainties in regard to the Four Last Things had not yet been entirely dissipated—who shall say that every problem has been solved even today?—and when the genius of Origen still held many minds under its spell, and therefore his eschatology is of great importance and interest for the history of Christian doctrine. Is death the end of man's probation? Dr O'Connell has no difficulty in vindicating Jerome's orthodoxy on this point, and it is in the Saint's firm conviction that death ends our conflict and begins our reward, rather than in any explicit statement, that we must find the proof that he believed in what we now call the particular judgement. The name judgement itself is reserved by St Jerome for that solemn tribunal of Christ before which all men must appear together at the Last Day, and at which not only the whole of the human race but the whole of each human being, body and soul, will be assigned to its everlasting bliss or damnation. It is in this perspective, which is also the perspective of the New Testament, that Jerome's eschatology must be assessed. Anyone who takes this "total" view of man's ultimate glorification must regard the period between the death of the individual and the Second Coming of Christ as nothing more than an interlude. And it is a mysterious interlude, during which the human person is dissolved and the soul, divorced, albeit temporarily, from its earthly partner, might be so easily conceived as something less than human, semi-conscious at the most, and incapable of perfect beatitude. The condition of the disembodied soul is a matter upon which perhaps even St Thomas has not said the last theological word. At any rate, sixty years after St Thomas died Pope Benedict XII had to settle a controversy concerning it, and even today it gives rise to perplexing problems. It is all the more remarkable, therefore, that St Jerome should have contrived to steer a safe course through the conflicting views held in his day regarding the fate of the soul between death and the general judgement. At the same time the idea that the vision of God constitutes the essence of beatitude, though not alien to his thought, cannot be said to have any prominence in his treatment of Heaven; to be in heaven is to be

with Christ, to reign with Christ; beyond this Jerome does not seem to have progressed. Similarly in his treatment of Hell the loss of God does not loom large. He rejects the view that the punishment of the damned consists simply in remorse: they are tortured by some external agency, though its nature is not clearly specified. There is no evidence that he ever accepted Origen's doctrine of the apocatastasis, and in his later works he quite certainly rejected it. He cannot, however, be acquitted of the charge of favouring the "Misericordes", according to whom certain categories of the damned may be eventually freed from the punishments of hell. These are some of the interesting matters to which the author devotes painstaking research.

In some respects St Hilary of Poitiers may claim to be regarded as the Irenaeus of the fourth century. It is true that the East did not give him his early formation, but his contacts with the bishops of the East during his exile in Phrygia undoubtedly influenced and to some extent also enriched his thought with something of the oriental Christian tradition. This appears in his Trinitarian doctrine no less than in his soteriology. We should perhaps not be far wrong if we saw the influence of Greek thought in his emphasis on the function of the Son of God in creation. One and the same Person thus appears as Mediator both in creation and in redemption. Like Irenaeus he sees Christ as restoring the whole of humanity by taking up a human nature into personal union with Himself. God becomes man in order that men may become gods. Indeed St Hilary has been understood by some as holding that the Word assumed a "universal human nature" and thus took to himself the human nature of every one of us. This is to misinterpret his doctrine. But there is no doubt that the idea of the "deification" of man through the Incarnation holds an important place in his doctrine of Christ as Mediator. The great merit of Hilary, according to Dr McMahon, lies in his having supplemented this partial view of redemption with the equally essential notion of vicarious satisfaction. If he appears to say sometimes that Christ's human nature is the human nature of every individual man, it is only because he wishes to stress our solidarity with Christ, a solidarity without which vicarious satisfaction can have no meaning.

St Leo the Great is faithful to the same tradition. Triumphant vindicator of orthodoxy in asserting the real distinction of the two natures in the one divine Person of Christ, he is outstanding among the Latin Fathers as a theologian of Christ's redemptive priesthood. It is through the humanity of Christ into which we are all mystically

taken up that the human race is restored, and so we share His death, His resurrection, His ascension, His victory. In Leo's explanation of the meaning of redemption the captivity of men under Satan plays a great part. Through sin Satan had gained dominion over mankind, and death is the weapon he uses to keep men in thrall. Redemption is brought about in as much as Satan misuses his dominion by unjustly inflicting the penalty of death upon the innocent Christ. By His sacrifice Christ propitiated the Father, reconciled us with Him by offering the most pleasing sacrifice of Himself. The technical words of modern theology may be lacking, but all the elements of the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction and of our solidarity with Christ in the Mystical Body are found by Dr Mozeris in his brief but useful examination of St Leo's soteriology.

The prominence given by a number of modern theologians to the "heavenly sacrifice" of Christ, coupled with the fact that the authority of St Ambrose is frequently invoked by them, has led Dr Fitzgerald to write his valuable disquisition on this aspect of St Ambrose's teaching. After an examination of the texts which is made objectively and without prepossession for any particular theory on the essence of the sacrifice of the Mass, he arrives at the conclusion that only one passage provides any argument for the existence of a heavenly sacrifice. Here (*P.L.* 15, 1846) Christ is clearly represented as exhibiting to the Father the wounds He had received in the sacrifice of Calvary and so retaining the condition of accepted victim or "passive sacrifice". But of the oblation of this heavenly victim, whether on earth or in heaven, Dr Fitzgerald is unable to find any trace in his author's works. As to the manner in which Christ intercedes for us in heaven there would appear to be no difference, according to St Ambrose, between His heavenly prayer for us and the petitions which He made for us while on earth.

In discussing the foreshadowings of the doctrine of the Trinity in the Old Testament, it is not Dr Smid's intention to enquire how far St Augustine's interpretation of particular passages can be justified according to the canons of modern exegesis. His purpose is rather to show, using St Augustine as his witness, that the Fathers were unanimously convinced that this fundamental doctrine of Christianity, clearly revealed only in the teaching of Christ, was nevertheless germinally contained in the revelation made under the Old Covenant. If the Incarnation of the Son of God was foretold by Isaias, as well as His redemptive suffering, if even the sacrifice of the Mass is, however obscurely, foretold by the prophet Malachy,

then surely those who have been privileged to receive in the New Testament the clear disclosure of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity may expect to find numerous traces of that truth in the preparatory religious instructions of the divine Pedagogue. Through the ministry of angels the Trinity is revealed to Abraham who, seeing three, adored only one. Lot addresses his two angelic visitants as one, and as one they reply to him. Unity in Trinity, Trinity in Unity, is seen by St Augustine in the theophanies; he finds the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit indicated in the divine perfections and activities attributed to them; the Psalms, for him, are rich in references to the eternal generation of the Son, and he interprets many passages of the Old Testament as foreshadowing the visible and invisible missions of the Son and the Holy Ghost. The lesson to be drawn from Dr Smid's careful study is, above all, that of the essential unity of the divine revelation committed to the inspired books of the Old and New Testaments.

SS. Trinitatis Inhabitatio apud Theologos Recentiores. By Joseph Trütsch. Pp. 141. A doctorate thesis submitted to the Gregorian University, Rome; obtainable from the author, Kollegium Maria Hilf, Schwyz (Switzerland).

IN dealing with this difficult subject, of which the present Pope wrote in his Encyclical *Mystici Corporis Christi*, "that when men seek to understand and explain this mysterious doctrine—concerning our union with the divine Redeemer, and particularly the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the soul—their feeble vision is obstructed by many veils which enshroud the truth in a sort of mist", Dr Trütsch abstracts as far as possible from the debated question regarding the part in it, if any, that is to be attributed exclusively to the Holy Spirit. It is his purpose, rather, to reduce to some system, and if possible to reconcile, the different explanations that modern theologians offer of this mysterious presence of the Trinity in the soul. Is it to be regarded as the "presence of immensity", as nothing more than a special instance of God's causal presence, with which He is efficient cause of the divine life of grace in the soul? Such was the view of Vasquez. Or is it to be regarded, instead, as an "objective presence", so that God is present in the soul as the object of man's supernatural knowledge and love? Such was the view of Suarez. Dr Trütsch, in common with John of St Thomas and many modern theologians, does not consider these two views to be irreconcilable; on the contrary he thinks that the one is unintelligible unless complemented by the other. Indwelling, the author considers, is a union of God with the soul such as to form one (not substantially but

accidentally one) vital principle: the principle or source of a supernatural and divine life or activity which in man is an accidental perfection. By this union God, as Act, unites himself with the substance of the soul and actuates it in the accidental order of supernatural knowledge and love. Consequently (not "nevertheless") this union is also of the "objective" order; in other words, God becomes present to the soul as the habitual object of faith and charity. Indeed, this objective presence of God to the soul must be regarded as the predominant element in indwelling. For, if God supernaturally actuates the human intelligence and will, and is thus present to the soul as efficient cause of grace, this is only in order that the soul may be united to Him as the object of its loving knowledge. The Thomistic statement, endorsed by Pius XII in *Mystici Corporis Christi*, is thus vindicated: "God dwells in the soul as the habitually known is in the knower and as the beloved is in the lover."

Especially admirable in Dr Trütsch's thesis is the clarity of expression which he combines with the logical sequence of his exposition.
Utinam sic omnes!
G. D. S.

Shepherds in the Mist. By E. Boyd Barrett. Pp. x + 102. (Burns Oates. 7s. 6d.)

Two years ago an article appeared in *America* with the title "Prayer for Stray Shepherds", a pleading for sympathy on the part of Catholics for priests who had broken faith and left the Church. The author of the article had himself gone astray. He was expelled from the Society of Jesus, remaining under suspension and excommunication for twenty years, but repentance brought to him the happiness of reconciliation. The experience of his own acute suffering whilst outside the Church urged him to write the above-mentioned article, which he has now expanded into a poignant and touching little book.

"There is always a last chance," says the author. His came, but he would not take it, and from that moment his misery began. Like others who are blinded by pride in their folly, he lost sight of the pain he was causing to those who loved him—his mother in particular—and became increasingly embittered at the thought of how his family and friends must surely have turned against him. He received many letters, some written in words that were meant to hurt, others that hurt by their very kindness. Both types revealed to him something of the anguish that a Stray Shepherd causes to his holiest and dearest friends. The realization of this anguish was largely instrumental in bringing about the return to the fold of the shepherd who had wandered. His happiest day since Ordination was that upon which he received his *second* First Communion.

On the rare occasions when a priest falls from grace and causes public scandal, the newspapers never fail to make the best—or the worst—of their opportunity; but how infrequently is the story of reconciliation told by the printed word! This it is that makes *Shepherds in the Mist* unique. Fallen priests probably endure more mental misery than do sinners in any other category, but this in itself may prove to be a grace, for—as any Bishop could testify—few priests who fall remain to the end unrepentant. In their estrangement those who have been in such close friendship with their Master miss Him so terribly that they cannot resist too long His call to repentance.

L. T. H.

Mind the Baby. By Mary Perkins. Pp. 122. (Sheed & Ward, Ltd. 6s.)

READERS of this author's last book *Speaking of How to Pray* will remember that she not only knows her theology but is able to write about it. Most mothers find it difficult to make time for meditation; here is the solution to their problem. Make the baby who is such a distraction the subject of the meditation. Studying one's child on the lines suggested by Mary Perkins makes one wonder why one didn't think of it before. Simply, and without sentimentalizing, she ponders over the wonderful grace of being used by God to help in the making of a human being; the miracle of birth; the responsibilities of parenthood. Rest-time, the walk in the park, meals and bath-time are all opportunities for meditating over this child made in God's likeness. This is a really good book for harassed mothers.

Saints and Heroes for Boys. By Doris Burton. Pp. 118. (Sands & Co. 6s.)

WITH the possible exception of Charles de Foucauld, the saints and heroes chosen are very familiar, but the point is this: they have been so collected that any boy can open the book at random and find a story that will appeal directly to himself. The only woman selected is Joan of Arc. Is she indeed the only female saint to appeal to a boy? One might have thought, for example, that for sheer courage Blessed Margaret Clitheroe would have appealed to the imagination of the most robust boy. The book is written in modern idiom (one is a trifle surprised to find a young visitor to the More household using the word "topping"), but the thrilling example of these Friends of God is always there, and one is glad to read about them in straightforward prose, shorn of sentimentality.

The Miracles of the Wolf of Gubbio. By Raymond Bruckberger. Pp. 60.
(Home & van Thal. 5s.)

THIS is a parable by a French Dominican, translated by Gerold Lauck, who has faithfully reproduced the spirit of the original French. Into the modern world of materialism this enchanting tale comes like a breath of pure air. It is just such a story as might have been told on the way to Canterbury, to ease the tedium of the road for the weary pilgrim to the Holy Land. It was St Francis who was called in to help when the savage wolf became the menace of the people of Gubbio, and it was he who granted the repentant creature the power to perform seven miracles. The story tells us how he used that power, and what effect it had on the people of the town. A book for everyone who has still a trace of the simplicity of childhood hidden in his soul.

M. T.

CORRESPONDENCE

LEGITIMACY FROM PUTATIVE MARRIAGE

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1950, XXXIV, pp. 45 ff.)

Dr L. L. McReavy writes:

In answering a question as to whether an Ordinary can continue, notwithstanding the reply of the Code Commission, 26 January, 1949, to treat mixed civil marriages as putative, Canon Mahoney replies that an Ordinary "can declare and sanction for his diocese the existence of a custom contrary to the higher law", and that "a customary interpretation (contrary to that of the Code Commission) is with us centenary and immemorial". While I am in general sympathy with the charitable motive which appears to be behind Canon Mahoney's liberal view, I find it difficult to accept either of the above statements.

i. If, as we must presume, the Code Commission's reply is simply declarative, it means that it has always been incorrect, ever since the Code was promulgated, to apply the term "putative" to a clandestine marriage by anyone subject to the canonical form. Therefore, in order to decide whether a contrary custom can be sustained, we must apply canon 5, which regulates the impact of the Code law on pre-Code customs, not canons 25-30, which regulate the introduction of post-Code customary law. But canon 5 does not allow an

Ordinary to "declare and sanction for his diocese" a pre-Code contrary custom, even though it were centenary and immemorial. It merely says that centenary and immemorial customs which are not expressly reprobated in the Code, can, in certain circumstances, be tolerated. There is a notable difference between tolerating a point of view and declaring and sanctioning it.

ii. In any case, I question whether there does exist with us a contrary custom of the kind which Canon Mahoney's argument requires, i.e. a centenary and immemorial habit of regarding the offspring of *invalid* clandestine marriages as legitimate, provided one of the parties was in good faith. It is true that our forefathers regarded the offspring of clandestine marriages as legitimate, but that was because, in this country up to 1908, as Canon Mahoney himself points out, such marriages were, *datis dandis*, valid marriages. Our centenary and immemorial tradition was *secundum ius*, not *contra ius*; and if it be true that it is now at variance with the Common Law, its contrariness cannot, at any rate, date back beyond *Ne Temere*.

LEONINE PRAYERS

"Sacerdos" writes:

Some time ago there was published a Rescript from the Congregation of Rites (?) permitting the usual Prayers after Mass to be omitted on *Sundays* owing to proximity of hours of Mass; and to allow time for congregations to be cleared and atmospheres aired, between services. Can any reader verify this, please?

THE DECREE *PRO ARMENIS*

(THE CLERGY REVIEW, 1950, XXXII, p. 221)

G. D. S. writes:

I am indebted to the kindness of several readers who have called attention to a passage in the article "The Church and her Sacraments", in which a particular opinion of van Rossum on the Decree *pro Armenis* is attributed to Gasparri. I apologize for this slip and crave the indulgence of any who may have been misled by it.

PERMISSU SUPERIORUM

CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

EVENTS IN POLAND

THESE pages have been concerned during the last two months with events in Hungary; with discussing the Agreement between Church and State signed there on 30 August last, and showing how quickly it was made clear to the Bishops that they had gained no advantage whatsoever. This month we turn to Poland, to tell the same melancholy tale; to show how there also the Bishops have gained no advantage whatsoever from the Agreement of 14 April, of which the text was printed in this journal in June, but how, on the contrary, as in Hungary, the Agreement has been a positive disadvantage, enabling the Communist regime to invoke its terms in all manner of cunning ways to embarrass the Bishops, while themselves disregarding their own undertakings.

The Polish Hierarchy met for its annual conference at Jasna Gora, the historic shrine at Czestochowa of Our Lady Queen of Poland, on 12 and 13 September. They reviewed the whole position of the Church in Poland since the signing of the Agreement five months before, and summed up their bitter findings in a letter which, signed by Cardinal Sapieha and the Archbishop-Primate, was then sent to President Bierut.¹ The letter was a long one, of some seven thousand words, but we make no apology for printing it in full, because at every turn it illuminates not only the conditions under which the Church is living in Poland but the problems which she has to encounter in all the countries "behind the iron curtain". The text is too long for one issue of this journal; the second part, therefore, will appear next month. We have numbered the paragraphs for convenience of reference.

If we argue, in connection both with this Agreement and with that made in Hungary, that the Bishops made a mistake in signing it, we do so only in a knowledge of the circumstances in which it seemed to them necessary to do so, and, above all, in the knowledge that, whatever else prompted them to do so, it was not a lack of courage. The present document, outspoken in every phrase, bears witness above all to the strength of character of its signatories. Again, as early as 9 June the Bishops of Tarnow and Siedlce were

¹ It is becoming their practice to appeal (however vainly) directly to the President, disdaining to make their *démarches* to the Government in Warsaw. Compare the letters addressed to President Bierut on 30 January and 16 February last, printed in THE CLERGY REVIEW for May and June, 1950.

CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

being accused by the Government Press of having broken the Agreement, by advising their people not to sign the Stockholm "Peace Appeal". The Bishop of Chelmno appealed for pardon to President Bierut after his arrest in February, and his subsequent release made some people think that he at any rate would be one of the Bishops susceptible for the future to pressure from the Communists, but he has since given ample sign that that is not so. The Hungarian Bishops, likewise, give no sign of being intimidated. Mgr Hamvas, Bishop of Csanad, who has now been made Apostolic Administrator of Cardinal Mindszenty's primatial See of Esztergom, was reported in *Magyar Kurir* of 10 October as making in a sermon the kind of reference to the Soviet domination of Hungary which Cardinal Mindszenty used to make:

Once Mohamed came, and wanted the Cross to disappear and the world to be ruled by the Turkish crescent. Christianity sought the help of the Blessed Virgin, and she liberated us. . . . Let us invoke her help, that the Faith of our ancestors may not be lost. We must pray to be able to remain good Catholics and good Magyars.

This letter to President Bierut treats, in the later part that will appear next month, of the Government's enlistment and use of the so-called "Patriot Priests" (paragraphs 38-43), and we have mentioned in these pages the similar attempts to seduce the lower clergy in Hungary; but there are just as many signs of the courage and steadfastness of the lower clergy from Hungary as there are from Poland. Thus *Magyar Nemzet* of 29 September was still complaining that parish priests were in no hurry to support the so-called "peace movement":

Even if there are certain reasons which induce priests to keep away from the movement, everyone must sympathize with the National Peace Council's recent appeal.

The same article had earlier referred to attempts by certain priests to "spoil the atmosphere of mutual confidence created by the Agreement", by "malignant explanations about Church-State relations". Another of the Hungarian Bishops, Mgr Badalik, Bishop of Cardinal Mindszenty's former See of Veszprem, was reported by *Magyar Kurir* of 30 September to have emphasized in a Pastoral Letter the importance of religious teaching, not concealing that since the signature of the Agreement with the State matters have become more difficult for the Church:

I wish to stress that, in times that have become more difficult, the religious teaching of your children at home is your holiest right and most important duty.

THE CLERGY REVIEW

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CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

For, as we were insisting in this narrative last month, the heart of the issue between Church and State in Eastern Europe concerns education and the teaching mission of the Church. So it is that in the document from Poland with which we are now concerned, after the preliminary paragraphs, education is the first topic to be treated in detail, beginning in Paragraph 8.

But if the schools are the first concern of the Bishops, the most difficult topic discussed in this letter to President Bierut, and the one in which they are hardest pressed by the Warsaw Government, concerns the ecclesiastical administration of the territories taken from Germany by Poland at the end of the war, referred to as "The Recovered Territory". Further discussion of this intricate topic must be delayed until next month. The territories in question are still *sub judice* in international law, pending the definitive political settlement of a Peace Treaty with Germany, and it is the practice of the Holy See not to make permanent administrative arrangements in such cases, but to await and not anticipate the political settlement. However, in Paragraph 3 of the Agreement of 14 April¹ the Bishops did in fact undertake to make an approach to the Holy See in the matter, and, as they agree in Paragraph 35 of the present letter to President Bierut, they have not yet done so. They are now being hard pressed to do so, and thus to fulfil their obligations to support the Government.

¹ THE CLERGY REVIEW, June 1950, p. xiv: "The Polish Episcopate . . . will address a request to the Holy See so that Church administrations which enjoy the rights of residential Episcopates (*scilicet*, Ordinariates) shall be changed into permanent Bishops' seats."

LETTER TO PRESIDENT BIERUT FROM THE CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF CRACOW AND THE ARCHBISHOP PRIMATE OF POLAND, DATED 12 SEPTEMBER, 1950

TO the President of the Polish Republic, Boleslaw Bierut.

1. The Polish Episcopate, after examining as a whole the situation of the Catholic Church in the past five years, in the course of a plenary session at Czestochowa on 12 and 13 September, 1950, considers it its duty to present the following observations to you, Mr President.

THE CHURCH'S LOSSES BETWEEN 1945 AND 1950

2. In the history of the Catholic Church in Poland, the last five years are marked by unprecedented losses.

3. The unilateral denunciation of the Concordat by the Polish State²; the failure of the Polish Government to recognize the Church organization in the

² On 13 September, 1945, at a time when the Warsaw Government did not even pretend to be more than a Provisional Government.

CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

regained Western territories; the ban on the renewal of Catholic associations; the gradual but steady liquidation of the Catholic schools; the close restriction of the religious Press and publications through censorship and publishing policy, until they have by now nearly disappeared; the deprivation of the Church of her diocesan and Catholic printing and publishing institutions; the socialization and, later, the nationalization of the hospitals owned by the Church; the attempts at intervention by the administrative authorities in the life of Church associations and brotherhoods, including the compulsory registration of monasteries and monastic associations; the restrictions on the freedom of public worship, even including attempts to restrict divine services and religious practices (missions, public processions, religious conventions and congresses); the liquidation of the Church's *Caritas* charitable organization; the complete nationalization of the estates of the Church; the Press campaign hostile to the Apostolic See and to the Episcopate, fluctuating in its intensity and attitude; the restriction of religious rights in the schools; the removal and expulsion from the schools of hundreds of priests teaching religion; the development of youth organizations with an ideology hostile to Christianity; the support of publications deprecating the historical achievements of the Church in science and in life; anti-religious propaganda through the Press and lectures, through instructions and training courses, in thousands of items of printed matter, restricting the freedom of conscience of members of associations, parties, and trade unions; anti-religious propaganda in the kindergartens and schools, at summer camps and camps for children and youths; the utilization of the entire administrative machine, the courts, the security authorities and the tax offices, to exert pressure on the consciences of the citizens, including priests and Bishops.

4. This enumeration is not complete; nor does it provide a real picture of the state to which the Catholic Church has been reduced in the course of the past five years. Having this before its eyes, the Episcopate has repeatedly expressed its reservations and comments to you, Mr President, to the Prime Minister and to the Ministers, but, regrettably, without result. The last year, particularly since the conclusion of the Agreement, has been marked by a change in the tempo of the liquidation of the social institutions and establishments of the Church.

FAVOURABLE SIDES OF THE CHURCH'S LIFE IN THE RE-BORN POLAND

5. We consider as favourable the repeated statements made by Government representatives, that they take into account the significance and influence of the Church in the nation's life, and that, consequently, the Government desires to conclude an Agreement; statements have also been made that the Government does not intend to carry on a war against religion, since this brings no results whatsoever. We also wish to emphasize that the reconstruction of many churches, damaged through war activity, has been achieved with State aid. We also note the fact that, despite numerous difficulties, the intensity of religious life is continually increasing, which we attribute partially to the war experience of the people, to their spiritual needs, to the difficulties of existence, and to the oppression of the Church in the numerous ways cited above and known to the people.

THE CHURCH'S ATTITUDE TO THE RE-BORN POLAND

6. Despite the difficult situation of the Church in the re-born Poland, the Episcopate, as the body directing the affairs of the Church, has always maintained an attitude of great reserve in its statements and in its appraisal of reality. While abstaining from purely political activity, the Episcopate has stated the Church's position to you, Mr President, and to the Government. While avoiding criticism of the Government's political, economic and social proceedings, the Episcopate has spoken only in defence of the rights of the Church and of religion, whenever these were not respected. In this defence of the rights of the Church, the Episcopate has appealed to the Catholic community only when the Government has failed to take the Episcopate's representations into consideration, and when the rights and welfare of the faithful required it. In these documents and statements, however,

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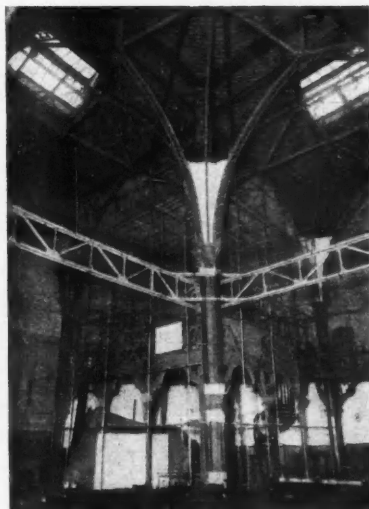
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CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

the Episcopate has never gone so far as to attack the President of the Republic or the Government, despite the fact that the Episcopate has frequently and improperly been publicly criticized and named by the leaders of the State.

7. From the beginning of Poland's re-birth, the attitude of the Church has been to take account of the new reality. Consequently, she has begun the ecclesiastical organization of the regained territories, and she has made great progress towards the stabilization of social conditions. The Church has utilized her great religious and moral influence speedily to pacify minds rendered indignant by injuries suffered during the period of transition. Through her teachings the Church has nourished those great moral values without which the rapid reconstruction of the country would have been impossible.

THE EDUCATION OF CATHOLIC YOUTH

8. The re-born State recognized the fact that Poland is a country 95 per cent Catholic, not only in name but by upbringing, moral principles, world outlook and native culture. This recognized fact ought to be respected, particularly in view of the principles underlying the Decree concerning freedom of conscience.¹ In reality, however, it is not. Contrary to the provisions of that Decree, a system and programme of education have been established in Poland which cannot be implemented without a complete departure from the Gospel. The education in the Polish schools attended by Catholic youth is materialistic in theory and anti-Christian and anti-religious in practice. The fact that many schools implementing this programme continue to teach religion does not alter the state of affairs. Despite the Decree concerning freedom of conscience, school text-books, civic training and social and political "enlightenment" inculcate a large number of errors which violate the consciences of Catholic youth.

9. The schedule of school studies frequently makes it impossible for Catholic youth to fulfill their religious duties, even on Sundays and Holy Days. Catholic youth frequently suffers a painful restriction of its civic rights for its religious attitude, particularly in the sphere of freedom of association, admission to higher schools, and the like.

10. However, the provisions of Paragraph 10, Point A, of the Agreement² clearly establish the rights of school youth to carry on its religious practices. In view of these undertakings, how strange appears the banning of the crucifixes from classrooms, which changes traditional customs and offends the religious feelings of school youth! How sad is the pressure exerted upon youth in the schools and boarding-schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children", to prevent them from wearing religious symbols, from saying prayers, and from attending church.

11. Much evidence exists in support of the assertion that, as regards the upbringing of children in kindergartens, and of youth, the question is no longer so much one of fighting the Church, as a religious community having the character of a public corporation, as of fighting against every indication of man's religious life and aims. This is evidenced by the curriculum for kindergartens, as well as by the latest school text-books and by the instructions given to teachers at the August conferences.

12. Is it known to you, Mr President, that in kindergartens for the children of Catholic parents, baptised in church, an entire system has been organized to protect the children from the least indications of religious life and aims? There is already no lack of manifestations of the violence applied to children's souls by instructors in the kindergartens, all the more painful because an open conflict exists between the upbringing in the family and the upbringing in the kindergarten and the school without religion. We know of numerous cases at camps and summer camps where schedules have been so arranged as to keep the children away from the Sunday church services and devotions.

13. Is this in accordance with the Decree concerning freedom of religion?

14. While speaking of these matters, we ought indeed to give the names of the

¹ See THE CLERGY REVIEW for June 1950, p. xiii, footnote.

² Full text in THE CLERGY REVIEW for June 1950.

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people concerned, and of the places where these events occurred. But we do not know, Mr President, who would be punished: the violators of children's consciences, or the children and their parents? Such things have occurred before now in Poland.

RELIGION IN THE SCHOOLS

15. Officially, the Catholic religion is still taught in the majority of Polish schools. Actually, there are about a thousand schools today in which there is no religion. The number of these schools is increasing, through the fact that, since the abolition of the private schools, the State schools with religion are being entrusted to the "Association of the Friends of Children", which conducts schools without religion. This procedure is contrary to the announced principle that only State schools may exist in Poland. It is in violation of the provisions of the Constitution which assure the teaching of religion in public general-educational schools. It is noteworthy that the entire procedure whereby State schools are converted into schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children" consists merely in the removal of religion from their curriculum, for there is no other difference whatever between the curriculum of the State schools and that of the schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children". It is therefore quite evident that, by the aid of this procedure, a war is being conducted against religion in the schools without legal decrees.

16. And here again we have a violation of freedom of conscience, because, in localities where only the schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children" exist, children and parents are faced with no alternative. In addition, we have much evidence that parents are being coerced into entrusting their children only to the schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children". The parents very frequently submit to this coercion for fear of losing their positions and means of subsistence.

17. In short, it must be asserted that the Government of the Polish Republic, despite the undertaking contained in Paragraph 10, Point A, of the Agreement that it does not intend to restrict the present state of the religious teaching in the schools, has in fact instituted such restrictions, by:

- (i) Converting schools teaching religion into so-called schools of the "Association of the Friends of Children", without religion; and
- (ii) reducing the number of hours for teaching religion in the first and second grades; and
- (iii) mass dismissals of priests and religious teachers, whom the Bishops cannot replace with other priests.

18. For some time the school authorities have been attempting to introduce the practice of removing and transferring teachers of the Catholic religion, contrary to the laws in force (Order of the President of the Polish Republic of 1 October, 1932, to Article 51 of the Law of 1 July, 1926).

THE CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

19. Contrary to the text of Paragraph 10, Point C, of the Agreement, reading: "Existing schools of a Catholic character will be retained," certain Catholic schools have recently been closed, with no announcement of any reason; and others have been condemned to slow decay by the abolition of the eighth grade; while a programme containing anti-Christian ideology has been imposed upon all of them, thereby violating their Catholic character.

20. Contrary to the law, which gives Catholic schools the right to choose their own headmasters, the State school authorities impose their own candidates.

COMPULSORY MEMBERSHIP IN THE POLISH YOUTH ASSOCIATION

21. Catholic youth, which has been forbidden to belong to religious associations (sodalities, eucharistic movements, etc.), is compelled to join the ranks of

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CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

Związek Młodej Polski (the Association of Polish Youth), an anti-Christian organization proclaiming a materialistic world-outlook and principles of "mortal hatred of the enemy" which are quite contrary to the teachings concerning love for one's fellow-men. Contrary to the statement, Mr President, in your letter to the Polish Bishops of 1 September, 1948, that membership in these organizations is voluntary, the pressure upon youth is so great that, in order to protect its elementary living requirements, youth submits to coercion, violating its conscience and its youthful ideals. Furthermore, these organizations are being imposed even upon Catholic schools, at the price of "to be or not to be". Of late all the remaining Catholic schools have been exposed to powerful attacks on their pupils by the Polish Youth Association. It is proper to ask what will become of these young folk, subjected at the beginning of their lives to such a ruthless violation of the freedom of conscience.

THE REMOVAL OF PRIESTS TEACHING RELIGION FROM THE SCHOOLS

22. In connection with the so-called Peace Campaign, over five hundred priests teaching religion have so far been removed from the schools, including some who had worked in them for many years and yet have today been expelled. The reason given for the removal was the failure to sign the Peace Appeal. In many cases, however, even priests who signed the Appeal have been removed.

23. In consideration of the view that the Appeal was a voluntary social act, to which penal sanctions could not and cannot be applied, the failure of priests teaching religion to sign it should not be punished by expulsion from their schools, and such a failure should not be branded as an anti-State act, or a bad example.

24. We must assert that the above-named priests have been removed from the schools for reasons not provided for in the law and contrary to the Agreement.

25. One can imagine the great disquiet which such a result of the "peace campaign" must have aroused among the young folk and their parents.

26. The question here at stake is fundamental. The entire work of education carried on by priests teaching religion is of such vital significance in strengthening the spirit of peace that it cannot be balanced against an individual signature. For what is this signature in comparison with the effort involved in the burdensome work of training consciences—the effort which, for many years, forms souls and imbues them with the virtues of love, justice, industry, valour and obedience, from which the spirit of peace emanates?

27. The motive itself, for removing more than five hundred Catholic priests from the Polish schools because they are "enemies of peace", is so undignified that it can only harm the entire peace campaign, conducted with so much effort.

28. Mr President: great harm has been done to the Church, to teachers of many years' standing, to parents, and to Catholic youth. We shall not be able to make good the losses caused in this way, because we cannot replace the large number of experienced teachers of religion who have been removed, without injury to the school and the training system.

29. Our conversations in this matter with the Ministry of Education and with the Bureau for Religious Denominations do not provide any solutions.

THE EPISCOPATE AND THE PEACE CAMPAIGN

30. At this point we must touch on an extremely fundamental matter: the view held by Government circles concerning the peace role of the Episcopate. We are of the opinion that all the Government's pressure upon the Bishops, demanding personal signatures of the Appeal, as being allegedly vital in this matter, is due to an erroneous judgement of the role of the Church in the work of peace.

31. The Episcopate is of the opinion that the work of peace, so significant for the world, should be the result of collaboration between many elements; each one, however, within its own sphere, and commensurate with the means at its disposal. The State should fight for peace by political means, but should not compel the Church to utilize similar methods. This would mean the introduction of the

CHURCH AND STATE ABROAD

Church into the domain of State policy. The Church desires to remain, and must remain, in her own religious domain. Here the Church has the means for conducting a peace campaign which are not available to the State, and these means are of such great weight that the lack of them may frustrate all political means in the campaign for peace.

32. Consequently, the Polish Episcopate expects the Polish State to permit it to fight for peace by moral and religious means, while the State will retain political means for itself. The Episcopate also desires to maintain the same attitude in further work for the benefit of peace. We wish to assure you, Mr President, that the Episcopate's work for the internal reassurance of the people, for moral discipline and order even in the face of the most trying situations in which our re-born Fatherland can be placed, will be considerably more fruitful if the Episcopate remains within its own sphere of moral and religious peace endeavour.

THE RECOVERED TERRITORY

33. The Polish Episcopate has taken upon itself the obligation to present to the Apostolic See the question of stabilizing ecclesiastical relations in the Apostolic Administrative Districts in the Recovered Territory.

34. A knowledge of Canon Law and of the actual organization of the Church in the Recovered Territory bids us assert one thing: the present Ordinaries, in carrying out their functions in the Recovered Territory, do not substantially differ from the usual episcopal Ordinaries. Thanks to their authority, the Apostolic Administrators have been able to create dioceses which already today perform all their religious and ecclesiastical functions towards the faithful. This fact confirms the genuine stabilization of the life of the Church in the Recovered Territory, which it is easy to verify, even by superficial observation. Only the legal side remains for final decision by the Apostolic See, but this does not in any way reduce the religious rights of the people. They do not feel slighted because parish priests are called Administrators, since they have the full powers of parish priests; and, furthermore, they are called Administrators, and not parish priests, in the majority of Polish parishes in the oldest dioceses. Even in the capital city of Warsaw there are no parish priests, but only Administrators with the rights of parish priests, as in the Recovered Territory. It is improper to deduce from the use of this title that the state of things in the Recovered Territory is merely temporary. There remains, however, the matter of dioceses and episcopal consecration for the Apostolic Administrators who today have the authority of Ordinaries.

35. The Episcopate is prepared to put this question before the Apostolic See in the nearest future. In preparing its letter to the Holy Father, the Episcopate has encountered serious difficulties of no small importance to the entire matter. In recent weeks new events have occurred—the building of the theological seminary at Wroclaw has been expropriated; and the theological seminary at Olsztyn has received notice of termination of the lease of its premises, although other ecclesiastical buildings are in the hands of the State. The situation at Opole is similar. For these reasons, the Apostolic Administrations cannot stabilize their existence in the most important sector, that of the training of the clergy, which is of decisive significance for the future organization of the life of the Church. This is due to no fault of the Church.

36. There are many similar examples in other sectors of the life of the Church. Not wishing to deprive itself of a vital argument before the Apostolic See, the Episcopate, in its letter of 8 August, 1950, asked the Government for an authoritative statement in a matter vital to the stabilization of Church life. This is a question not only of material, but primarily of personnel. It is not possible to conduct religious life without a proper supply of the clergy.

37. We are confident that, in the immediate future, the Episcopate will receive a favourable reply from the Government in this matter, whereby a great step forward will be taken.

(To be concluded)

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